NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC
HISTORY
MYSTERY OF DELPHI
QUEST FOR THE ORACLE
STONE AGE CITY LIFE
CLOSE QUARTERS IN ÇATALHÖYÜK
COSMIC CONTROVERSY
THE REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS OF COPERNICUS
FIGHTING WORDS
YELLOW JOURNALISM AND THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR
PLUS:
Mesmerized!
The Man Who Discovered Animal Magnetism
MARCH/APRIL 2019

*"I've gotten many compliments on this watch. The craftsmanship is phenomenal and the watch is simply pleasing to the eye."*
—M., Irvine, CA

*"GET THIS WATCH."*
—M., Wheeling, IL

**Back in Black: The New Face of Luxury Watches**
*"...go black. Dark and handsome remains a classic for a reason"*
*— Men's Journal*

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**History's mysteries** are often solved by teams working centuries apart. The oracle at Delphi, ancient Greece's favorite place for seeking divine advice, confounded many scholars who sought the place where priestesses told the future. Classical accounts described the process: The Pythia (Apollo's priestess) entered a cavern, inhaled sweet-smelling vapors (called *pneuma*) emanating from the depths, went into a trance, and then uttered the words of the gods.

In the 1890s archaeologists drew on these accounts when they first excavated the site on Parnassós. Unable to find the Pythia's sacred space and the intoxicating pneuma, they concluded that the vapors were just "urban legends" passed down by the ancients.

These early excavations revealed important geologic insights that became apparent to scholars in the 1990s. Combining science with history, an archaeologist, a geologist, a chemist, and a toxicologist banded together and found that the pneuma were real: the product of geologic faults underneath Delphi causing gases, including sweet-smelling ethylene, to rise into the Pythia's chamber and induce her trances. Putting all these pieces together renders a fuller picture of the past and also serves as a reminder of the debt owed to those teammates who came before.

Amy Briggs

Amy Briggs, Executive Editor

MICHELE FALZONE/AWL IMAGES

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

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NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

# HISTORY

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THE RAQEFET CAVE NATUFIAN PROJECT

**THE ISRAELI** ARCHAEOLOGICAL TEAM WORKS NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE RAQEFET CAVE IN NORTHERN ISRAEL.

NG MAPS

**MOUNT CARMEL** is dotted with Natufian settlements, such as the Raqefet Cave. Thriving around 13,000 years ago, the Natufians developed funerary rites and buried their dead on beds of herbs.

THE ART OF ANCIENT ALES

# Craft Brewing in Caves: Earliest Evidence of Beer

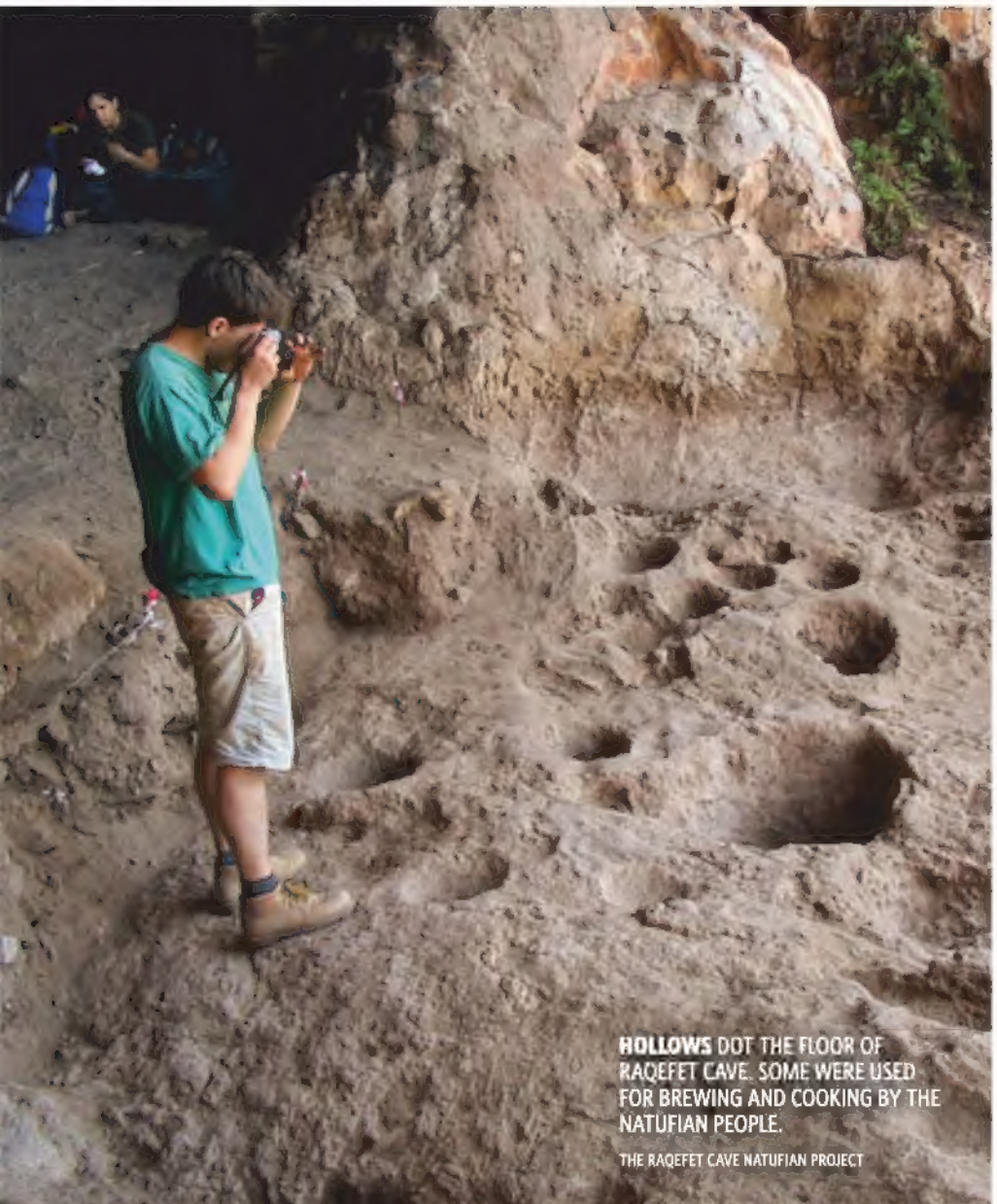
A new discovery in Israel reveals how a prehistoric community consumed beer as a part of their paleo diet, centuries before humans took up farming.

Humans were downing beers thousands of years earlier than experts previously thought—long before the advent of agriculture.

The oldest traces of beer brewing used to date to around 9,000 years ago, but according to research published in the *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, cereal-based beer was being consumed some 13,000 years ago. Researchers from Stanford University and the University of Haifa in Israel made this discovery in Raqefet Cave on Mount Carmel, near Haifa in northern Israel.

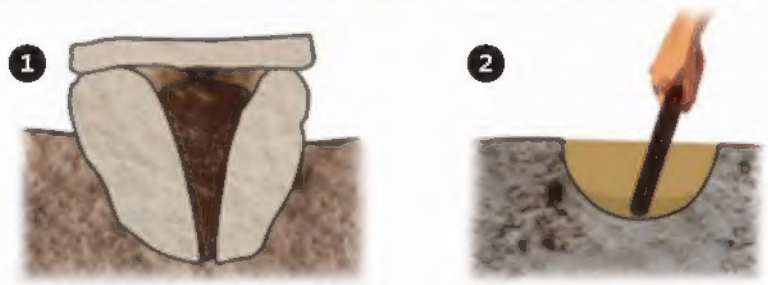
The site was once occupied by the Natufians, who lived some 15,000–11,500 years ago. Archaeologists believe them to be among the first people to abandon nomadic practices and opt for a semi-settled way of life.

The cave contains many important finds, including a Natufian burial ground with the remains of 30 people. Archaeologists also found tools,



**HOLLOWS** DOT THE FLOOR OF RAQEFET CAVE. SOME WERE USED FOR BREWING AND COOKING BY THE NATUFIAN PEOPLE.

THE RAQEFET CAVE NATUFIAN PROJECT

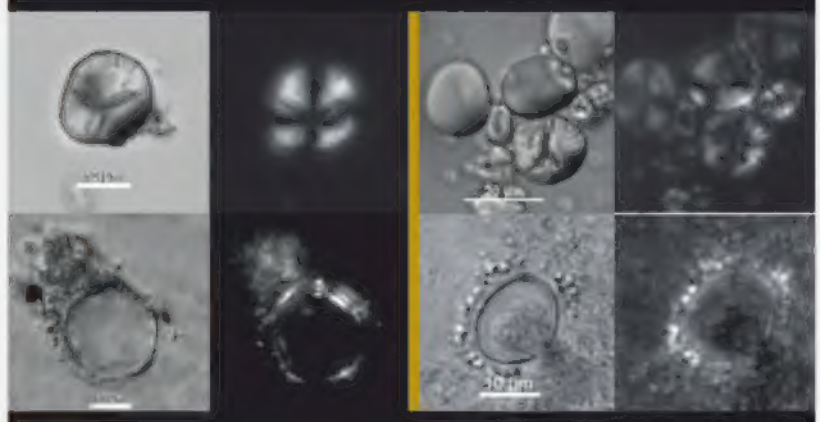


**THE NATUFIANS** who used the cave made receptacles from material they found there: ❶ a boulder mortar with a slab for a lid as food storage, and ❷ a bedrock mortar, hollowed out of the floor, and used for cooking food and brewing beer.

ELSEVIER/JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SCIENCE: REPORTS

## BEER AND BREAD

**THE DISCOVERY** in northern Israel of beer production some 13,000 years ago falls into the same timescale as the oldest known traces of bread yet found—between 14,600 and 11,600 years ago. The traces of flatbread, found in Jordan in 2018 and made from wild cereals, were the product of the same Natufian culture that brewed the Raqefet beer. Before the find, the earliest evidence of breadmaking had been dated to about 9,000 years ago in Turkey. Taken together, these finds are leading scholars to consider that crude methods of bread- and beermaking brought such nutritional and social enhancements to communities that they spurred efforts toward ever more refined cultivation of plants and farming.



**ANCIENT STARCH** (ABOVE LEFT) FOUND AT RAQEFET CAVE IS COMPARED WITH MODERN STARCH (ABOVE RIGHT) AS PART OF THE STUDY OF BREWING BEER AT THE SITE. BELOW, A MODERN BARLEY FIELD PHOTO: LI LIU

GETTY IMAGES

including numerous mortars (stone recipients), as well as divots hollowed out from the rocks that archaeologists call "cupmarks."

### Stone Age Storage

The study focused on three of the stone mortars at the site. Analysis confirmed that two of them had been used for storage of locally gathered food, including wheat, barley, oat, and legumes. The team believes that the staples were packed inside bags made of flax, stored in the mortars, and covered with a stone slab on top like a lid.

The third mortar in the study—a different kind of hollow that was carved directly out of the bedrock—revealed the site's boozy secret. As well as being used for cooking, analysis of the recessed area showed wear patterns and residues proving it had been used to make barley or wheat beer. Some theorize that other plants were probably added to the mixture so as to provide some extra flavor.

After considering the evidence, the team believes the resulting beverage was most likely consumed during ritual feasts and celebrations among the Natufians. Advances in food technology not only provided better sustenance but also enriched the ritualistic and social lives of these ancient communities. ■

# Mesmer: Master of Animal Magnetism

In the late 18th century this German doctor's magnetic therapy sessions caused a furor in Vienna and Paris. While some viewed him as a fraud, others saw him as a miraculous healer.

## Scientist or Schemer?

**1734**

Franz Mesmer, the son of a humble forest warden, is born in Iznang, a small town next to Lake Constance, Germany.

**1768**

Two years after receiving his doctorate, Mesmer marries Anna Maria von Posch, a wealthy widow. Their Vienna home serves as his consulting room.

**1778**

After his controversial treatment of a blind pianist is deemed a failure, Mesmer leaves Vienna and moves to Paris.

**1784**

A scientific commission concludes that Mesmer's theory of animal magnetism lacks scientific basis.

**1815**

Mesmer dies in anonymity in the German town of Meersburg.

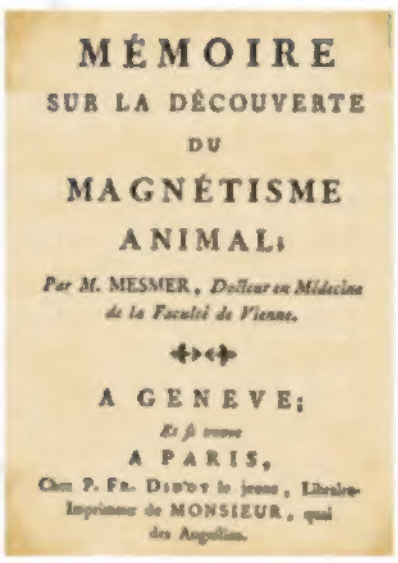
Wearing gold slippers and a lavender silk robe, physician Franz Anton Mesmer moved slowly around the silent, dimly lit room while waving a metal wand. A *baquet,* a large oak tub of magnetized water, sat in the middle of the richly appointed salon. Mesmer's patients surrounded the baquet and pressed its protruding metal rods to the afflicted areas of their bodies. Ethereal notes of a glass harmonica, its sound resembling that of clinking glasses, tinkled in the incense-filled air. After a flick of his wand or a touch of his hand, some of Mesmer's patients fell into trances, cathartic and curative "crises" that could resemble violent convulsions, fits of laughter, or piercing shrieks.

### Theory Becomes Practice

Mesmer's unorthodox treatment style began in late 1774. For two years, he had applied the standard medical remedies of the 18th century, including blistering and bleeding, to a 28-year-old patient, Franziska Österlin, whose maladies ranged from earaches to melancholy. Finding traditional tactics unsuccessful, Mesmer followed the suggestion of Jesuit priest and astronomer Maximilian Hell, who attached magnets to his patients to treat disease. Mesmer applied this same magnetic therapy to Österlin and pronounced her cured.

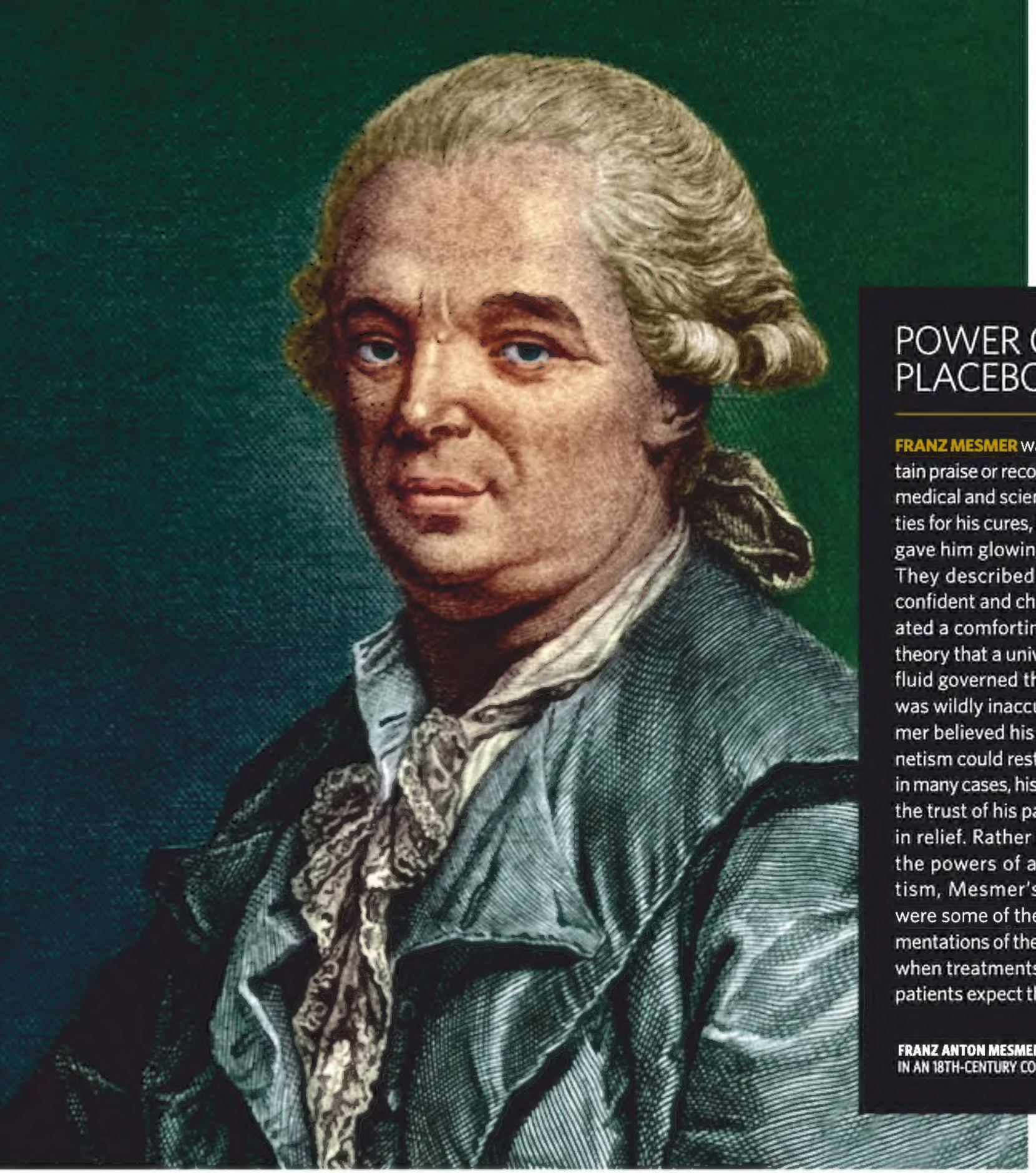
Mesmer asserted in his doctoral dissertation that the gravitational force of the planets, sun, and moon also affected the human body. But after his encounter with Father Hell, Mesmer revised his "animal gravitation" theory to one of "animal magnetism." This universal force was not external gravitation but rather an internal force. Mesmer began to base his medical practice on his belief that an invisible fluid ran through all living things. Disease resulted when the fluid's flow became blocked. Health could be restored through contact with a conductor of animal magnetism. The magnets in Father Hell's therapy were superfluous, Mesmer argued, as Mesmer himself, or any object that he magnetized, could restore the flow.

In 1775 Mesmer shared his discovery of animal magnetism with physicians and scientific academies, inviting their comments. The one reply he received was dismissive. Mesmer then attempted to demonstrate the treatment's success to physician Jan Ingenhousz. Ingenhousz realized that Österlin only responded to


MÉMOIRE
SUR LA DÉCOUVERTE
DU
MAGNÉTISME
ANIMAL;
Par M. MESMER, Docteur en Médecine de la Faculté de Vienne.
A GENEVE;
Et se trouve
A PARIS,
Chez P. Fr. Didot le jeune, Libraire-Imprimeur de MONSIEUR, quai des Augustins.

**MESMER'S 1779 TREATISE** ON THE DISCOVERY OF ANIMAL MAGNETISM
GRANGER/ALBUM

> Mesmer's patients fell into trances, curative "crises" that resembled fits of laughter, convulsions, or shrieks.



## POWER OF PLACEBOS

**FRANZ MESMER** was unable to obtain praise or recognition from the medical and scientific communities for his cures, but his patients gave him glowing testimonials. They described how Mesmer, confident and charismatic, radiated a comforting serenity. His theory that a universal magnetic fluid governed the human body was wildly inaccurate. But Mesmer believed his powerful magnetism could restore health, and in many cases, his confidence and the trust of his patients resulted in relief. Rather than revealing the powers of animal magnetism, Mesmer's experiments were some of the earliest documentations of the placebo effect, when treatments work because patients expect them to.

**FRANZ ANTON MESMER.** THE GERMAN DOCTOR IN AN 18TH-CENTURY COLORED ENGRAVING

ALAMY/ACI

objects that she believed were magnets or that were connected with Mesmer, but not other magnets he had hidden in the room. After she failed to respond to them, Ingenhousz publicly denounced Mesmer as a fraud.

To redeem his reputation and demonstrate animal magnetism's effectiveness, Mesmer took on a difficult case. Blind since childhood, 18-year-old pianist Maria Theresa Paradis had been treated by leading Viennese physicians with blistering plasters, leeches, and electric shocks through her eyes, to no effect. She began treatment with Mesmer in 1777. He claimed to have partially restored Maria's eyesight, noting that she was "frightened on beholding the human face" and could imitate the expressions painted on small figurines. But Mesmer's apparent success was followed by accusations from a triumvirate of detractors: a prominent physician, who declared Mesmer a charlatan; Maria's father, who feared audiences would lose interest if his daughter were cured; and Maria herself, who was irritated by the constant testing and struggled with her musical performances. Mesmer nonetheless continued the treatment and invited the public to witness her imminent recovery. But upon Maria's return home, her family reported that she was still blind. Mesmer's attempt at accreditation had failed once more.

### Escape to Paris

Discredited and derided in Vienna, Mesmer left for Paris in January 1778. The City of Light seemed willing to embrace Mesmer's novel style of treatment. Establishing a practice in the luxurious Hôtel de Bouillon, the charismatic Mesmer

**FRANZ MESMER** set up his first consulting room in Vienna in 1768. In the picture, St. Michael's Church rises above Vienna's Michaelerplatz.

SEBASTIANO SCATTOLIN/FOTOTECA 9X12

soon found himself inundated with as many as 20 patients a day. The baquet thus became his self-devised method of mass treatment and his sessions a form of group therapy. Patients held hands around the magnetized vessel, their physical connection further facilitating the flow—and health-giving power—of animal magnetism. The combination of soft lighting, soothing music, and Mesmer's enthralling movements around the room produced what is now recognized as a form of hypnotism. In the 18th century it was called mesmerism.

Mesmer hoped the medical and scientific communities would be swayed by his patients' glowing testimonials. The French Academy of Sciences and the Royal Society of Medicine both repeatedly rebuffed or ignored Mesmer and his claims of a miraculous panacea.

## The King's Commission

In the years leading up to the French Revolution, mesmerism started to take on a significantly political dimension. Openly challenging the institutions of the ancien régime, Mesmer argued that freedom was as necessary for happiness as it was for health. Because physical harmony and social harmony shared a connection, the republic should be founded on the sovereignty of citizens, not a monarchical and feudal system.

In August 1784 King Louis XVI (whose wife, Marie-Antoinette, was a patient of Mesmer's) ordered a commission to evaluate Mesmer and his treatment methods.

## MESMER AND MOZART

**A PROMINENT** figure in Vienna's fashionable music scene, Mesmer was a friend and patron of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. The composer later immortalized Mesmer in his 1790 opera *Così fan tutte*, in which two characters are revived with the aid of a magnet: "This is . . . the stone which the great Doctor Mesmer discovered . . . and then became so famous in France."

ALBUM

## A HEALING VESSEL

**MESMER** believed that animal magnetism "could be stored up and concentrated, like electric fluid." To practice his technique, he invented the *baquet*, a wooden vessel that he filled with "magnetized water" and attached ropes and metal rods, each with a magnet at its base. Only one baquet survives to this day (below); it is housed in the Museum of Medicine and Pharmacy, Lyon, France.

ALAMY/AC.

**MESMER** (with his back turned) conducts a therapy session in Paris, employing a large elliptical *baquet*.

SCALA, FLORENCE

The nine-member committee—which included American inventor and statesman Benjamin Franklin, astronomer Jean Bailly, chemist Antoine Lavoisier, and physician Joseph Guillotin—evaluated Mesmer protégé Dr. Charles d'Eslon. The committee's purpose was to examine the practice of animal magnetism in general, not the methods of an individual practitioner. After testing the contents of the baquet, observing group treatment sessions, and undergoing treatment themselves, the committee concluded that Mesmer's theory of animal magnetism was "destitute of foundation," as it was impossible to prove the existence of a fluid that lacked taste, color, or scent. When the commission's report was published, Mesmer lost much of the public's support and became the scorned subject of satires. He left Paris, living in relative obscurity until his death in 1815.

### Healing Powers

The commission had focused on whether Mesmer had discovered a new type of universal fluid, not on whether a patient's symptoms were alleviated or cured. To that end, they acknowledged that the power of suggestion on the imagination could have therapeutic value. Benjamin Franklin agreed with d'Eslon's proposition that "If Mesmer had no other secret than that of making the imagination act to produce health, would not that be a marvelous benefit?" Astounded by the patients' responses during the group therapy sessions, the committee wrote, "All submit to the magnetizer . . . even though they appear to be asleep, his voice, a look, a signal pulls them out of it . . . one cannot help but acknowledge the presence of a great power which moves and controls patients, and which resides in the magnetizer."

More than 200 years later, this description of Mesmer and his treatment style have become part of the modern lexicon. *Webster's* defines animal magnetism as "a magnetic charm or appeal" and mesmerize as "to subject to mesmerism, also hypnotize . . . spellbind."

Mesmer's theory, much like the man himself, was mystical and complex. But in an era that offered sometimes rather toxic and harsh medical treatments, and which could often be as deadly to the patient as the disease itself, Mesmer provided calming and innocuous therapy. He understood how inducing a suggestive mental state could alleviate pain or afflictions, psychosomatic or otherwise. His technique remains the basis of the modern practice of therapeutic hypnosis.

*—Antonio Fernández*

# Rome's Passion for Pearls

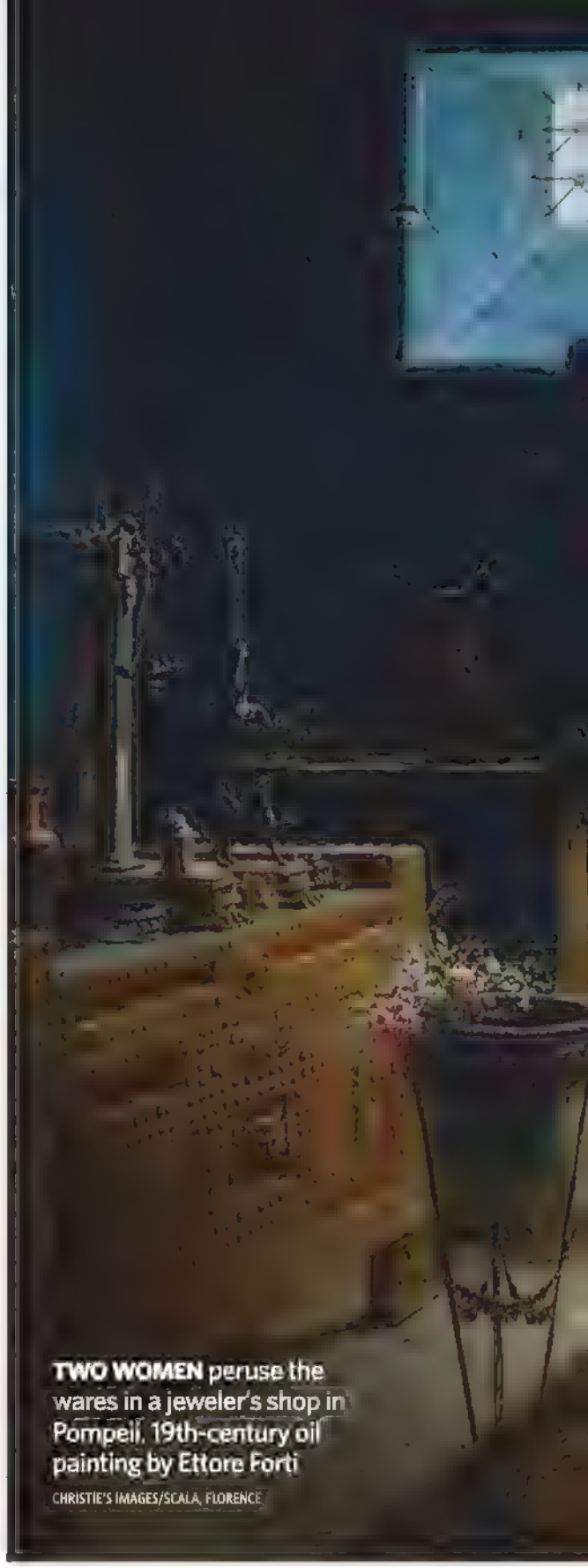
Scorned by moralists and coveted by the nobility, the gems of the sea became Rome's must-have extravagance that fed the republic's economic boom in the first century B.C.

Satirical Roman writer Martial, remarking upon imperial Rome's captivation with pearls, described a woman named Gellia who "swears, not by . . . our gods or goddesses, but by her pearls. These she embraces; these she covers with kisses; these she calls her brothers and sisters; these she loves more ardently than her two children. If she should chance to lose these, she declares she could not live even an hour."

Martial's words would be the first of many commentaries from moralists and satirists on the Roman nobility's fashion obsession with pearls. In the beginning of the first century B.C. these precious baubles became the ultimate symbol of wealth, power, and prestige in Rome. Many ancient civilizations, from India and Israel to Assyria and pharaonic Egypt, had long considered the pearl a precious gem. Pearls were presented as gifts to Chinese royalty as early as 2300 B.C., and a fragment of pearl jewelry found in the sarcophagus of a Persian princess from about 420 B.C. indicates that they were also worn as adornment.

### Treasures From the East

The Roman pearl craze began after Pompey the Great's military campaigns in Asia Minor and Armenia (66–63 B.C.). During Pompey's triumphal return to Rome in 61 B.C., his procession included 33 crowns encrusted with pearls, a pearl-decorated shrine, and a portrait of the general made entirely of pearls. Recollecting the latter treasure, writer and philosopher Pliny the Elder scoffed: "To think that it is of pearls, Great Pompey, those wasteful things meant only for women . . . which you yourself cannot and must not wear, that your portrait is made!" The extravagant display of this precious stone of the East proved the success of Pompey's conquering armies and helped elevate his profile as a strong commander. The pearls themselves—"the richest merchandise of all," as Pliny wrote—filled the coffers of Rome's treasury, their abundance strengthening its economy. Rome's elite fell in love with the gemstones, and a fashion trend was born.



**TWO WOMEN** peruse the wares in a jeweler's shop in Pompeii. 19th-century oil painting by Ettore Forti

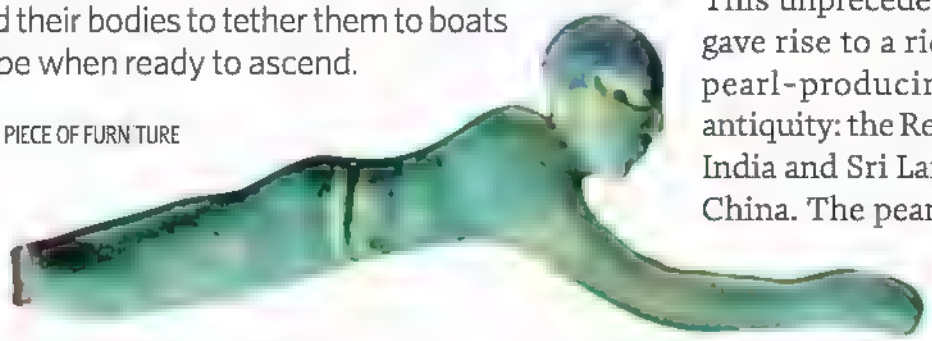
CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE

### The Pearl Trade

This unprecedented interest in pearls gave rise to a rich trade with the four pearl-producing regions known in antiquity: the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, India and Sri Lanka, and some areas of China. The pearl trade in Rome began

## PEARL HUNTERS

**ARDUOUS AND RISKY,** harvesting pearls from the ocean floor was a job often performed by prisoners. Divers had to carry weights to descend down to the seafloor to search for the mollusks holding the precious pearls. Ropes were tied around their bodies to tether them to boats above. They tugged on the rope when ready to ascend.



**SWIMMER.** GLASS FIGURE USED TO DECORATE A PIECE OF FURN TURE

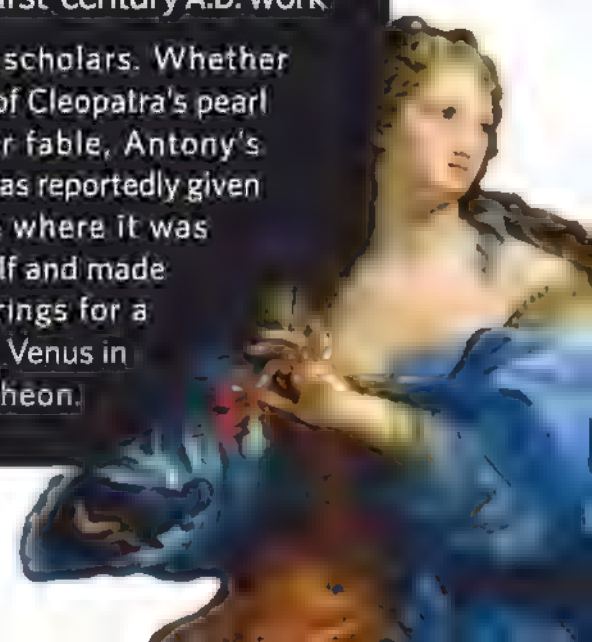
BR DGEMAN/ACI

around the end of the first century B.C. and the beginning of the first century A.D., when the trade route with the East through Egypt was established. Trade brought pearls of varying qualities, sizes, and colors to Rome: small reddish pearls from the Black Sea, large marble-shaded pearls from Greece, and golden ones from Britain. But the most highly prized pearls, which were a brilliant, shiny white, came from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

The Romans referred to pearls by the Greek name *margarita*, and differentiated between various kinds. The largest and most beautiful were called *unios;* pear-shaped pearls were called *elenchi;* and

## Cleopatra's Expensive Tastes

**TO CONVINCE** Roman leader Mark Antony that Egypt possessed an affluence that placed it above conquest, Cleopatra wagered that she could give the most expensive banquet ever known. As Pliny the Elder detailed in his first-century A.D. work *Natural History*, Cleopatra removed one of her pearl earrings, dropped it in a goblet of vinegar placed before her, and drank it. The astonished Antony declined his dinner—the matching pearl—and admitted defeat. Pliny's anecdote was considered credible in antiquity but is deemed legendary by many modern scholars. Whether the fate of Cleopatra's pearl is fact or fable, Antony's "meal" was reportedly given to Rome where it was cut in half and made into earrings for a statue of Venus in the Pantheon.



**CLEOPATRA AND THE PEARL,** DETAIL FROM A 17TH-CENTURY PAINTING BY CARLO MARATT

BRIDGEMAN/AC

## THE ARCADE OF PEARLS

**IN ROME** people interested in buying pearls, jewelry, and other adornments would take a trip to a place called Porticus Margaritaria. Although scholars are unsure of its exact location in the city, they believe that jewelers both manufactured and sold their wares there.

**JEWELER'S STORE.** MUSEUM OF ROMAN CIVILIZATION, ROME
SCALA, FLORENCE

**SHOWING OFF** a pearl necklace, a woman displays her collection of jewels. Fresco from the Palace of Constantine in Trier. Fourth century A.D. Episcopal Museum, Trier
AKG_PHOTOSTOCK

when clustered together so that they gently jingled with movement—attracting attention with the noise—they were called *crotalia,* or castanets.

Under the emperors Claudius and Nero, the pearl trade focused on a few ports on the Arabian coast, which became intermediaries between India and the West. Goods were shipped from the Arabian ports to Egypt's capital of Alexandria, where they were kept in warehouses and then redistributed throughout the Mediterranean. The pearl trade also benefited from the Roman Empire's extensive network of well-kept roads.

Merchants who specialized in pearls were known in Rome as *margaritarii,* although this word also may have been used to describe anyone connected with the gem, from exporters, jewelers, and pearl-setters to pearl fishermen and guards who protected the precious stones. The margaritarii joined together to protect their interests in guilds or associations.

**The Romans' favorite pearls were white and came from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.**

**CROTALIA** EARRING MADE OF GOLD, PEARLS, GARNETS, AND GLASS. THIRD CENTURY
BRIDGEMAN/AC

Eighteen inscriptions found in Rome mention the profession of *margaritarius.* Most of these historical markings have been discovered around the Via Sacra in the Roman Forum, the center of day-to-day life in ancient Rome. Such inscriptions suggest that a select group of margaritarii operated from one of Rome's best known and busiest streets, which served as the city's commerce nucleus for the luxury trade.

### Wealth of Riches

Pearls were so rare and expensive that they were reserved almost exclusively for the noble and affluent. Julius Caesar ruled that women beneath a certain rank could not wear them, specifying that they were meant for "those of a designated position and age."

Women from the imperial aristocracy wore them in a variety of ways: as earrings, in necklaces of up to three strands,

# A Plethora of Pearls

**ROMAN JEWELERS** grew skilled at creating different combinations of pearls to appeal to their customers, from simple settings of a single pearl to numerous gems joined together in clusters.

▼ **PEARL CLUSTER** and gold earrings from Pompeii. National Archaeological Museum, Naples, Italy

◄ **PEARLS** and precious stones are linked on a necklace from Pompeii. National Archaeological Museum, Naples, Italy

▲ **BRACELET** of intricate goldwork shows off several inset pearls. National Archaeological Museum, Naples, Italy

► **GOLD RING** is set with a single pearl, from Oplontis near Pompeii. National Archaeological Museum, Naples, Italy

PHOTOS, FOGLIA/SCALA, FLORENCE EXCEPT PEARL CLUSTER, DEA/A. BUM

on crowns, and on hair combs. Pearls were sewn onto dresses and even onto the straps of their sandals. Pliny penned his admonishment that pearls had surpassed mere adornment: "It is not sufficient for them to wear pearls, but they must trample and walk over them . . . the women wore pearls even in the still hours of the night, so that in their sleep they might be conscious of possessing the beautiful gems."

Roman philosopher Seneca echoed Pliny's criticism of such pretension when describing the new earring style: "[T]he lobes of our ladies have attained a special capacity for supporting a great number. Two pearls alongside of each other, with a third suspended above, now form a single earring! The crazy fools seem to think that their husbands are not sufficiently tormented unless they wear the value of an inheritance in each ear!" Indeed, earrings of this period were often so large and heavy that the purpose of a female hairdresser, known as an *auricula ornatrix,* was to treat earlobes injured or infected by the earrings. Even the statues of the time reflected the Romans' fondness for bejeweled earlobes. The "Venus de' Medici," a sculpture from the first century B.C. of Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love, has pierced ears.

Pearls became a symbol of imperial power and were lavishly displayed on bed covers, couches, and crowns. A pearl-setter was among the many permanent staff who worked for Emperor Augustus, an indication of the jewel's importance in the ruler's household.

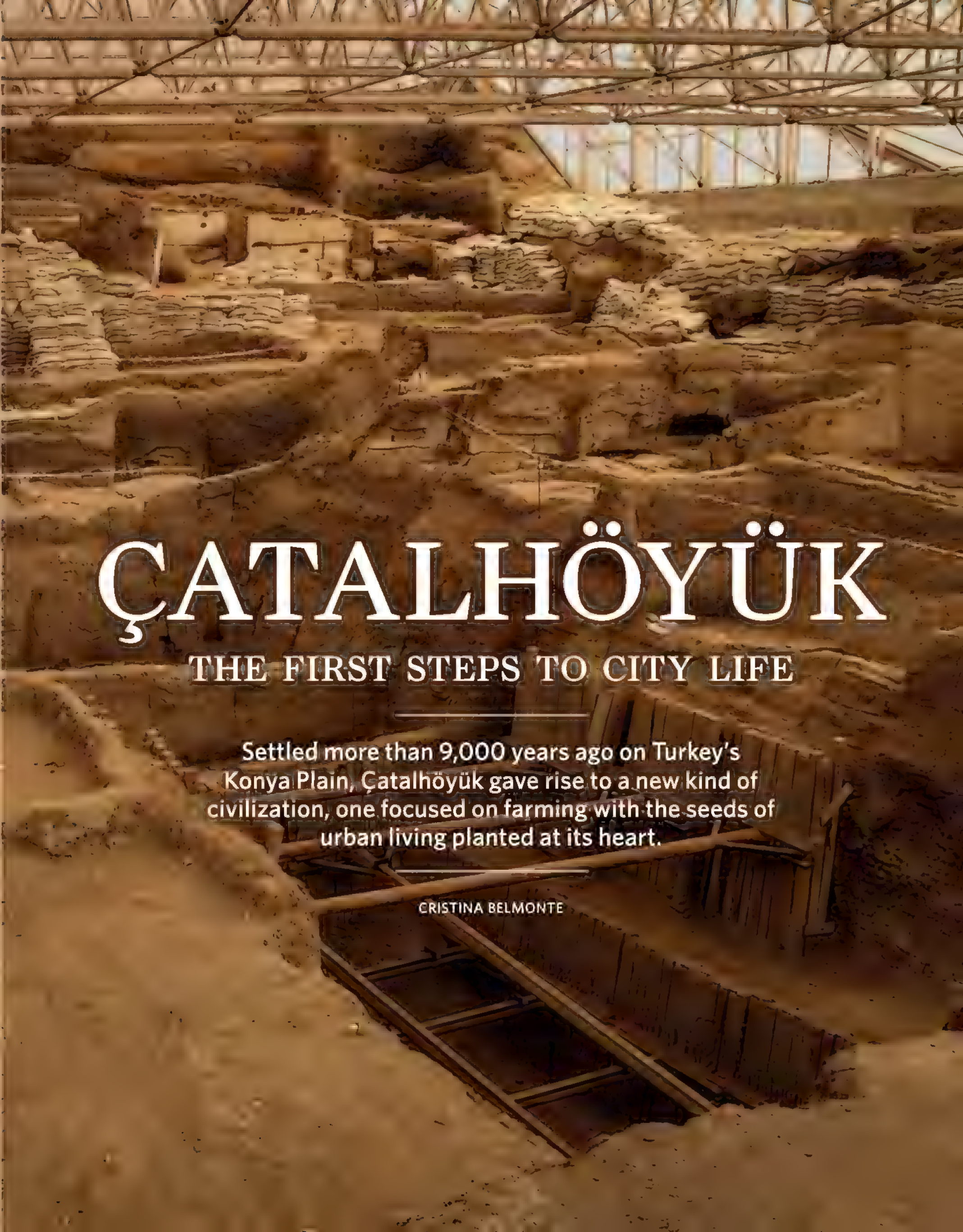
The pearl featured prominently in accounts of Emperors Caligula and Nero, both infamous for their extraordinary excesses. Caligula is said to have not only bestowed the rank of consul upon his favorite horse but also decorated Incitatus with a pearl necklace. Echoing the tale told of Cleopatra, Caligula's libations were even said to include the prized gem, as he drank "pearls of great price dissolved in vinegar." Nero, with his pearl-encrusted scepter and throne, adorned the actors in his theater with similarly decorated masks and scepters for his viewing pleasure.

Historian Suetonius wrote that Vitellius, a first-century Roman general (and later one of the short-lived successors of Nero), financed an entire military campaign by selling just one of his mother's pearl earrings. A luxury known to only a few, pearls occupied the "very highest position among valuables." This jewel of the sea—matching Pliny's description of Caligula's pearl-bedecked third wife, Lollia Paulina—"glittered and shone like the sun" at the height of the Roman Empire.

*—Lucía Avial-Chicharro*

**CLOSE QUARTERS**
Beginning in the 1960s, work at Çatalhöyük (in central Turkey) has unearthed numerous levels of close-knit households where a large community of people lived during the Stone Age as humanity began to reject nomadic life

MARION BULL/ALAMY/ACI



# ÇATALHÖYÜK

## THE FIRST STEPS TO CITY LIFE

Settled more than 9,000 years ago on Turkey's Konya Plain, Çatalhöyük gave rise to a new kind of civilization, one focused on farming with the seeds of urban living planted at its heart.

CRISTINA BELMONTE

# Life of a Neolithic Settlement

**CIRCA 7400 B.C.**
People begin settling at Çatalhöyük (in present-day Turkey). The land is abundant with natural resources and well suited for agriculture.

**CIRCA 6700 B.C.**
Çatalhöyük rapidly grows in size and population. During the 2,000 years the site is occupied, the settlement will expand to 34 acres and peak at roughly 8,000 people.

**CIRCA 6500 B.C.**
Over the centuries Çatalhöyük residents establish a community of mud-brick homes, tightly clustered together. A vibrant religious and artistic tradition develops.

**CIRCA 5900 B.C.**
New settlement patterns emerge at Çatalhöyük on a neighboring mound to the west and the surrounding plain. Its egalitarian society continues to grow and thrive.

**CIRCA 5500-5100 B.C.**
Technological changes come to Çatalhöyük in the form of decorated pottery, an advance associated with the Copper Age.

**CIRCA 5100-5000 B.C.**
Çatalhöyük is abandoned. For many centuries afterward the surrounding communities use part of the site as a burial ground for their dead.

**IN PLAIN SITE**
Çatalhöyük (above) sits on the Konya Plain in Turkey. Its eastern mound (right) was settled about 1,500 years before the western one (left). Much of the site has yet to be excavated.

IMAGES & STOR ES/ALAMY/ACI

The Konya Plain stretches for hundreds of miles across central Turkey. Almost 60 years ago, in a remote spot some 30 miles from the regional capital of Konya, a team of archaeologists began exploring two small hills. A fork in a local footpath and the two mounds themselves gave the site its modern name. Fork (*çatal* in Turkish) and mound (*höyük*) combine to form Çatalhöyük. Today the site is regarded by UNESCO as the most significant human settlement documenting early settled agricultural life.

Founded over 9,000 years ago on the bank of a river that has since dried up, Çatalhöyük is believed to have been home to an egalitarian Stone Age society who built distinctive homes, arranged back-to-back without doors or windows. They went in and out through openings in the roof. On the inside, they left wall paintings and enigmatic figurines. These dwellings also played an important role in their funerary practices:

**DOMESTIC CHORES.** BONE TOOLS FOR SEWING AND WEAVING, FOUND AT ÇATALHÖYÜK. MUSEUM OF ANATOLIAN CIVILIZATIONS, ANKARA, TURKEY

NATHAN BENN/GETTY IMAGES

# GOING WITH THE GRAIN

**ÇATALHÖYÜK** lies at the western end of the Fertile Crescent, the area in which farming settlements first appeared at the dawn of the Neolithic period. From 13,000 B.C., the Natufian people had gathered grain and founded early villages, including a site near modern-day Jericho. Even so, historians consider that the general trend to settled farming began around 10,000 B.C.

Residents buried the dead under their homes. At its peak, the town housed as many as 8,000 people, who supported themselves through agriculture and raising livestock.

Aside from revealing fascinating details as to what life in a Stone Age town was like, the site chronicles a critical moment in human history: when people were starting to abandon nomadic ways. Prior to the settlement at Çatalhöyük, humanity had been wanderers for hundreds of thousands of years. Çatalhöyük marks a time when people embarked on one of the earliest experiments in "urban" living.

## From Stone to Copper

Çatalhöyük's earliest occupation has been dated to 7400 B.C., as part of the westward spread of settled farming associated with the Neolithic, or New Stone Age. Other Neolithic settlements located in Turkey include the nearby site of Hacilar, which dates to around 7500 B.C.

Hacilar was identified and dated in the 1950s by the British archaeologist James Mellaart. An Egyptologist, Mellaart developed a fascination for very ancient cities after working at the Tall as Sultan site near Jericho, considered to be the oldest town in the world. In 1961 Mellaart started to dig near the forked path at Çatalhöyük. The twin hills had caught his interest a few years earlier, and he became convinced they hid a secret. His hunch paid off: After excavating the site, he knew he had stumbled on the find of his career. The time allotted to him, however, would be short but productive. Caught up in a dispute over antiquities trafficking, Mellaart's permit was withdrawn, but in his four years of work he documented 14 separate occupations in the eastern mound and many houses.

For 25 years, between 1993 and 2018, British archaeologist Ian Hodder developed an international research project at Çatalhöyük. Renewed attention to the ancient town led to its designation as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2012. Çatalhöyük is prized

**BEARDED MAN.** THIS UNFINISHED FIGURINE APPEARS TO REPRESENT A RECLINING MAN. IT WAS FOUND IN ÇATALHÖYÜK IN 2009.

JASON QUINLAN/ÇATALHÖYÜK RESEARCH PROJECT

# Mountain or Man-Eater?

**A FAMOUS MURAL** from Çatalhöyük shows a large polka-dotted figure above a series of boxy shapes (right). It was once thought to depict a leopard skin, but researchers now believe the spotted form in the upper part of the drawing is showing a volcanic eruption. Hasan Dağı, a now dormant volcano, is situated 80 miles north-east of Çatalhöyük. The mountain was a rich source of obsidian, the volcanic rock prized by Çatalhöyük's ancient residents for making tools and mirrors. In 2013 volcanologist Axel Schmitt proved that Hasan Dağı erupted nearly 9,000 years ago, which coincides with the age of the building in which the mural was painted. Schmitt believes this wall painting could be considered the world's oldest map because it shows not only the active volcano but also an overhead view of the village below.

TOP: BRUNO COSSA/FOTOTECA 9X12 **RIGHT:** MAURICIO ABREU/AWL-IMAGES

not only for revealing how people lived in its warren of neat, tidy, plastered houses, but also for its longevity, as the eastern mound was inhabited for as many as 1,500 years. Its later period coincided with the Copper Age, which began around 5500 B.C. In this later phase, the eastern mound was abandoned, and the western mound developed. Pottery decorated with colored paint, a feature associated with the Copper Age, has been found on this later, western mound.

## Spirit of the Hearth

Much of the economic, social, and ritual life of Çatalhöyük was organized around the home. The houses, all very similar in size, sheltered families of five to 10 people. A typical home had no windows, one main room, and two ancillary rooms for storage or domestic work. The walls were made of adobe and covered with plaster. They measured some 20 inches thick and stood more than eight feet tall.

The use of clay and plaster as building materials made archaeologists' work easier. Floors, walls, and art had to be renewed continually. In some buildings more than 450 layers of fine plastering have been documented on just four inches of wall. Each of these layers provides information about the period when the building was constructed and on occasion gives subtle details about the occupants' daily lives, such as the marks left by baskets or rugs on floors.

Built back-to-back, people entered their homes through an opening in the roof. They climbed down a ladder to the main room. The oven and hearth were positioned below the entrance, which also served as a vent for smoke. Inhabitants cooked food in this part of the main room. The floors were blackened with ash and soot. Obsidian, highly prized for its smooth finish, was fashioned in this room and used to create numerous objects, including mirrors. Archaeologists also found

**ANCIENT REFLECTIONS**

Crafted from polished obsidian, the mirror (above) is one of two found in 2012 in a tomb in Çatalhöyük, where they were deposited as grave goods.

JASON QUINLAN, ÇATALHÖYÜK RESEARCH PROJECT

**APPLICATORS** USED FOR COSMETICS, FOUND IN ÇATALHÖYÜK

N. BENN/GETTY IMAGES

**SEATED WOMAN**
JAMES MELLAART FOUND THIS CIRCA 6000 B.C. CLAY FIGURE AT ÇATALHÖYÜK. MUSEUM OF ANATOLIAN CIVILIZATIONS, ANKARA, TURKEY

# FEMALE FIGURINES

James Mellaart, who carried out the first studies of Çatalhöyük in the 1960s, unearthed corpulent figures that he believed were powerful symbols of fertility. The most famous of these is a clay sculpture of a voluptuous woman (left), perhaps in the midst of giving birth. Her hands rest on the heads of two leopards, whose tails are coiled around her shoulders. When it was uncovered, a leopard's head and the woman's head and right hand were all missing. They have been reconstructed.

**LIMESTONE WOMAN**
SCULPTED BETWEEN 6100 AND 6000 B.C., THIS LIMESTONE FIGURE WAS FOUND IN 2016. SHE IS BELIEVED TO REPRESENT A HIGH-STATUS FIGURE.

On the basis of unearthing a handful of female sculptures in the 1960s, James Mellaart suggested that they were the products of a matriarchal society that worshipped a mother goddess. However, Ian Hodder, director of the site since the 1990s, believes that there is no proof that Çatalhöyük was organized according to either matriarchal or patriarchal principles. Of the many art objects found since the 1960s, those depicting the male form and animals outnumber those of the female form, especially in the case of paintings. Anthropological evidence also indicates a society that was markedly egalitarian. Physical evidence shows that both women and men had similar diets and carried out similar tasks. Equal amounts of soot present in their lungs suggests both men and women spent equal amounts of time at home.

TOP: VINCENT J. MUSI/ALAMY/ACI. BOTTOM: JASON QUINLAN/ÇATALHÖYÜK RESEARCH PROJECT

**HOME BURIAL**
Next to the bones of a child, a number of beads made of stone and of bone were found, deposited as offerings in this Çatalhöyük grave.

VINCENT J. MUSI/ALAMY/ACI

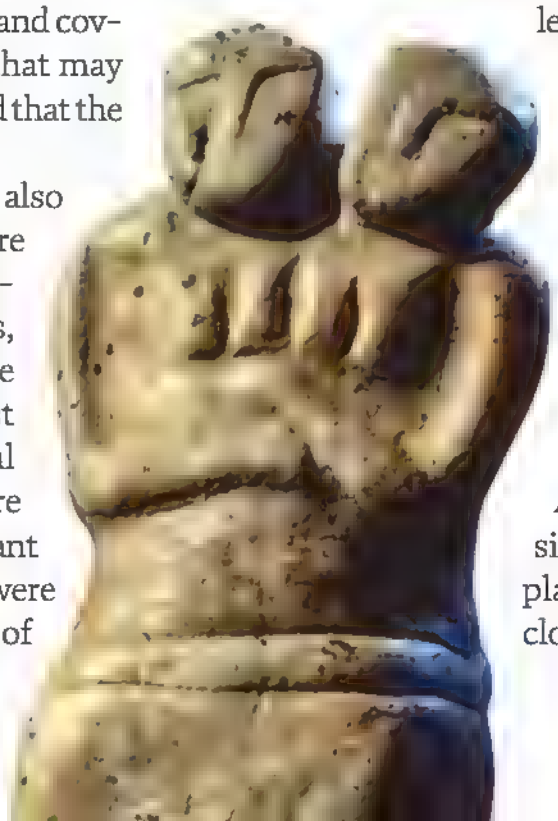
that infants and newborns were buried in this part of the home.

Benches or platforms separated the "clean" part of the house from the dirty. The floors were free from the blackening caused by fire. It appears they were also plastered more frequently. These clean spaces were where youths and adults were buried. Later excavations at the site revealed the emphasis the residents placed on hygiene: Garbage was burned, buried, and covered with ash, a general cleanliness that may explain why forensic tests have revealed that the population was remarkably healthy.

The walls in these clean spaces were also a focal point for art. The artworks were typically painted in red or black pigments and feature geometric motifs, human hands, and wild animals. The relationship with these animals must have been a powerful element of local beliefs. Leopards, boars, and bears are all depicted. Perhaps the most important of all was the wild bull, whose horns were placed on platforms or in other parts of the home. The bones of wild animals, usually male, were deposited as offerings when a house was built or abandoned. Researchers speculate that the occupants did so in the hope of overcoming their fear of nature or to be close to its powerful spirit.

**DOMESTIC HARMONY**
Found in Çatalhöyük, two people embrace in this carving from around 6000 B.C. Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, Turkey

NATHAN BENN/GETTY IMAGES



## Home and Away

The occupants of Çatalhöyük grew grains and legumes, kept sheep and goats, and hunted wild animals such as bison, deer, elk, boar, and birds. The surrounding countryside offered wild food sources, such as apples, almonds, pistachios, fish, and waterfowl eggs. Building materials such as plaster and mud were also readily available near the settlement itself.

Archaeologists were surprised to find that homes were not located close to their fields, which was unexpected for an agricultural community of several thousand people. According to Hodder and his team, one possible explanation lies in the high demand for plaster and clay in the village. If people lived closer to their farmland, they would have been

DAVID TH L NG PHOTOGRAPHY BY AMY YAC

# RAISING THE DEAD

One of the most striking ancient wall paintings found in Çatalhöyük shows headless human figures alongside a giant bird, believed to be a vulture (left). Depictions of birds like this one have been found on other objects from Çatalhöyük. This scene may show a funerary ritual, in which the dead were placed on the rooftops, out of reach of other carnivores. There, their bodies would be picked clean by the scavenging vultures. This process, known as excarnation, could have taken a matter of hours and would have left behind only bones. People would then retrieve these remains, wrap or bind them, and bury them beneath the floors of their homes. Researchers theorize this placement was believed to keep a dead person's soul nearby and has been documented elsewhere in Anatolia (modern Turkey) and in other ancient societies.

forced to travel to get clay to build their homes. The cane baskets they used to transport it were unsuited to hauling vast quantities over large stretches of territory. It was easier to transport their harvests and store them.

Traveling was evidently not a problem, as the citizens of Çatalhöyük engaged in long-distance trade. Archaeologists found baskets of date palm leaves that originated from Mesopotamia or the Levant. Shells suggest they traded with peoples near the Red Sea or the Mediterranean. The prized obsidian came from the Hasan Dağı volcano, some 80 miles away or the Cappadocia region farther to the east.

To date, no monumental constructions (temples, grand communal buildings, or burial grounds) have been found at Çatalhöyük. Archaeologists believe this lack suggests a remarkably egalitarian society—at least in its earlier stages. Some buildings with more burials and more elaborate architecture have been identified, notable for the presence of bull's horns on pedestals or other elements. However, the people who lived in these homes did not control food production, nor were their burials more elaborate than others. It is thought they served to keep the historical and cultural memory of the community alive. Hodder's team dubbed these buildings "history houses."

There are also many mysteries surrounding why the site was eventually abandoned. Evidence suggests that the social system gradually broke down due to cultural shifts and climate change. In the later period, archaeologists detected an increase in the differences dividing social classes. Homes were no longer the center of ritual and social relations and became centers of production and consumption. Archaeologists are still searching for explanations. Only 4 percent of the entire surface area of Çatalhöyük has been studied, which means that there are thousands of unexcavated buildings that perhaps hold the answers to these and many other questions about the "urban" dwellers of Çatalhöyük.

A FORMER MEMBER OF THE ÇATALHÖYÜK PROJECT IN TURKEY, CRISTINA BELMONTE HAS PARTICIPATED IN THE EXCAVATION OF THE EASTERN MOUND OF THE SITE.

# Beauty of the Beasts

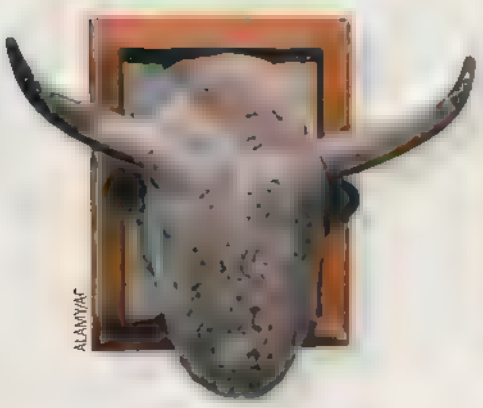
The animals who lived on the plains alongside Çatalhöyük's human residents became incorporated into their rituals and art. Whether hunted, feared, or worshipped, their wild presence was expressed in the home through furnishings and decoration.

**TOOLS** FOUND IN ÇATALHÖYÜK. THE TWO TO THE RIGHT ARE MADE OF OBSIDIAN, A BLACK VOLCANIC ROCK HIGHLY PRIZED BY THE RESIDENTS OF THE TOWN

JASON QUINLAN/ÇATALHÖYÜK RESEARCH PROJECT

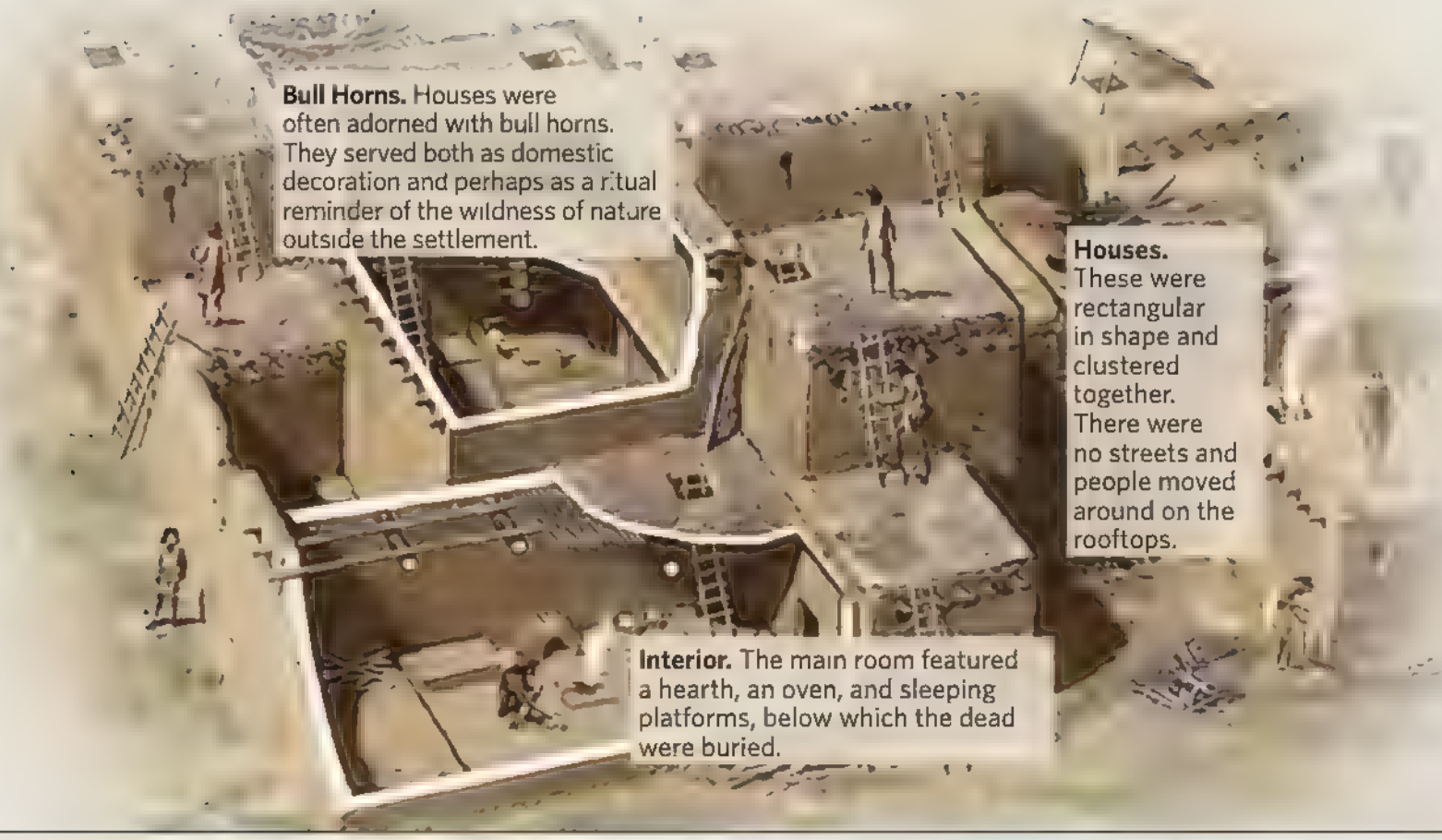
## BULLISH BUILDINGS

A typical home at Çatalhöyük (right), consisted of a main room, fitted with benches and platforms, ovens (the darkened stain on the floor), and white-plastered walls often painted with animal depictions. In the building (below right), a platform with two pedestals features bull horns. The skull (below) of an auroch—a now extinct species of wild cattle—was found hanging from the wall immediately in front of the platform. The skull was modeled with plaster to re-create the creature's appearance when alive.



ALAMY/AC

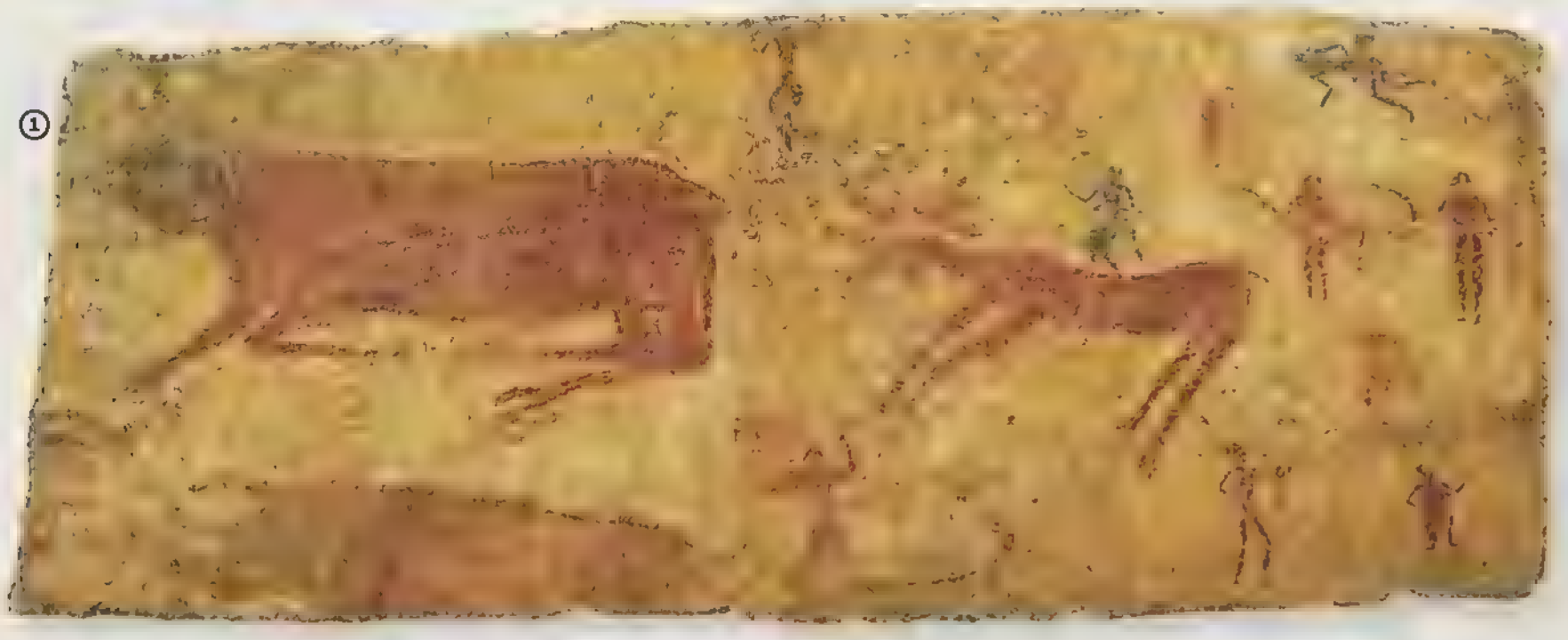
ABOVE AND BELOW: JASON QUINLAN/ÇATALHÖYÜK RESEARCH PROJECT

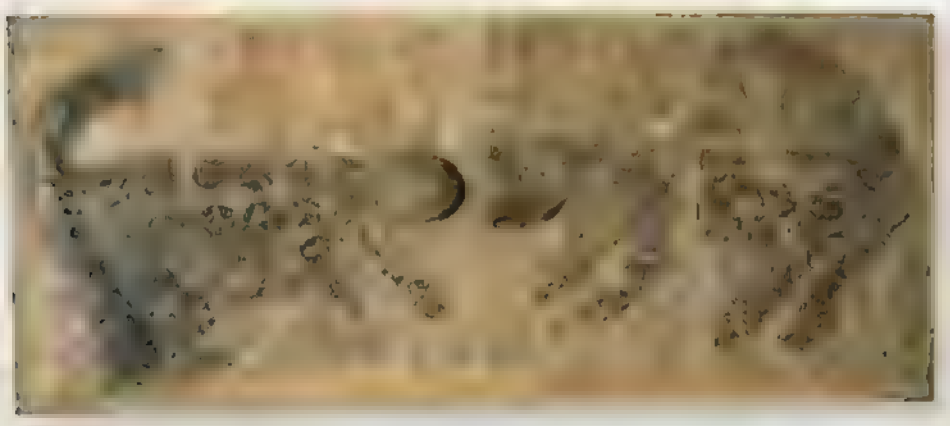

**Bull Horns.** Houses were often adorned with bull horns. They served both as domestic decoration and perhaps as a ritual reminder of the wildness of nature outside the settlement.
**Houses.** These were rectangular in shape and clustered together. There were no streets and people moved around on the rooftops.
**Interior.** The main room featured a hearth, an oven, and sleeping platforms, below which the dead were buried.

## HOME, HEARTH, AND HISTORY

Archaeologists study the architecture of Çatalhöyük to better understand how its society developed. The close structure of their homes indicates that large numbers of people had learned to live side by side while developing common rituals.

**RECONSTRUCTION** OF DAILY LIFE IN ÇATALHÖYUK IN 6000 B.C.
FERNANDO G. BAPTISTA/NGS



## WILD AT HEART

Some murals at Çatalhöyük reveal the relationship between wild animals and people. In one dynamic painting ①, animals flee from hunters. Other murals show the animals in combat with each other, ② as the two sparring cheetahs in this piece. Many figurines, amulets, and seals in the shape of other animals have also been recovered, such as ③ this seal in the form of a bear, which was found in 2005.

1, 2. ALAMY/ACI. 3. JASON QUINLAN/ÇATALHÖYÜK RESEARCH PROJECT

**ALL THE WORLD'S A STAGE**
Excavated between 1895 and 1897, the amphitheater of Delphi sits up the hill from the Temple of Apollo. A massive space, it was able to seat an audience of up to 5,000 people. Musical, poetic, and dramatic performances were staged here.

FUNKYSTOCK/AGE FOTOSTOCK

# DELPHI

## SEARCH FOR THE ANCIENT ORACLE

Hidden for centuries beneath a Greek hillside, the ruins of Delphi emerged when a team of 19th-century archaeologists set out to find the sacred center of the ancient world.

MARÍA TERESA MAGADÁN

**THE VILLAGE OF KASTRI** SITS ABOVE THE ONGOING EXCAVATION OF DELPHI IN A PHOTOGRAPH FROM 1893

N.C./ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'ATHÈNES, MIN STRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS/EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES OF PHOK S

Greek myth holds that the thunder god Zeus once dispatched two eagles flying in opposite directions across the sky. Where their paths crossed would be the center of the world. Legend says that the birds met over Delphi, seated on the slopes of Parnassós. Zeus marked the spot with a stone called the *omphalos* (navel), to signify the location's centrality.

According to another myth, this impressive spot in central Greece (about 100 miles northwest of Athens) was originally sacred to Gaea, mother goddess of the earth, who placed her son Python, a serpent, as a guard for Delphi and its oracle. Apollo, god of light and music, slew the serpent and took over the site for himself. Priestesses who served Apollo there were called the "Pythia," named in honor of Gaea's vanquished son. Throughout the classical world spread the belief that these priestesses channeled prophecies from Apollo himself.

The cult of Apollo seems to have been functioning in Delphi as early as the eighth century B.C. About two centuries later, leaders from all over Greece were consulting the oracle on major issues of the day: waging war, founding colonies, and religious rituals. Since it was a place used by different—and often rival—Greek states, Delphi soon became not only a sacred space but also a place where a city-state could exhibit its status to the wider Greek world. If a particular city wanted to flaunt its success in war or trade, it could build a commemorative monument at Delphi. This practice led to an astonishing

## DISCOVERIES FROM THE BIG DIG

**1891**

AFTER A DECADE of negotiations, Greece grants France exclusive access to excavate at Delphi. The village of Kastri must be relocated before excavation can begin.

**1892-94**

THE "BIG DIG" begins under the direction of Théophile Homolle. The Altar of the Chians, the Athenian Treasury, and the statues of Kleobis and Biton are some notable early finds.

**1896-98**

A BRONZE statue of a charioteer is found in the sanctuary of Apollo. In 1897 the theater and the stadium are excavated, and in 1898, work begins on the Tholos of Delphi.

**A GODDESS'S TEMPLE**
This tholos, or circular temple, is located on the Marmaria terrace in Delphi, nearly half a mile from the sanctuary of Apollo. Part of a temple dedicated to Athena, goddess of wisdom, the columns standing today were reconstructed in 1938.

NAVÈ ORGAD/FOTOTECA 9X12

## 1903

A MUSEUM opens adjacent to the dig site in Delphi to protect, house, and exhibit artifacts from the site, which span more than a thousand years of occupation at Delphi.

## HEARING THE VOICE OF GOD

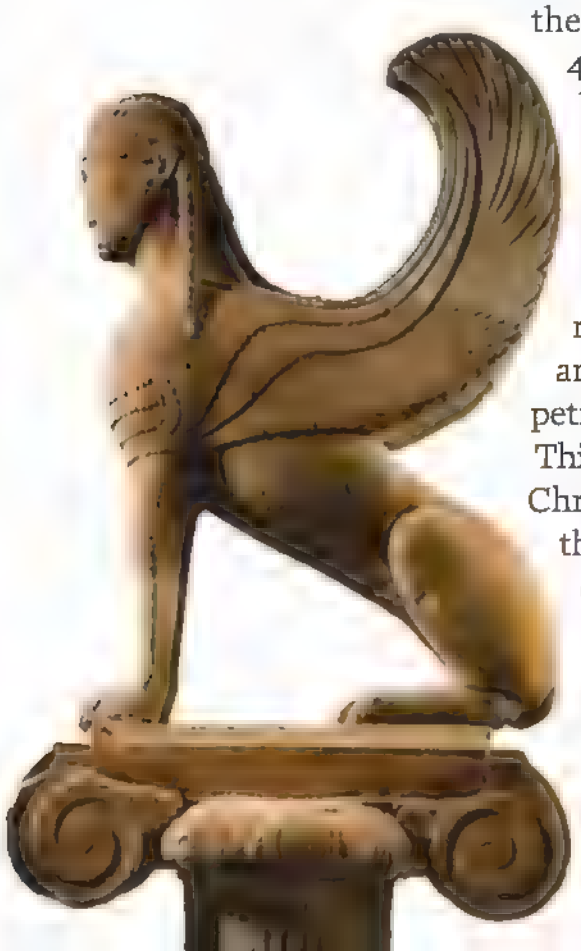
**ANCIENT SOURCES** differ on the exact workings of the oracle, but it seems consultants would only be able to pose their inquiries to the Pythia, the priestess, on the seventh day of each month, since that was believed to be Apollo's birthday, with the window even further narrowed to exclude the three winter months, when Apollo was believed to be away. After cleansing herself and burning an homage to the god, she would go to the inner sanctum of the temple, the adytum. The Pythia would sit on her tripod, and Apollo would speak through her. Even though this vase (right) depicts the consultant present, it seems that only a priest was there to interpret the utterings from her ecstasy. This didn't make the answers much clearer: They were at best ambiguous, if not totally cryptic.

**THE PYTHIA SITS ON** HER TRIPOD WHILE HOLDING A LAUREL LEAF, WITH THE CONSULTANT WAITING FOR THE GOD'S VERDICT. BPK/SCALA, FLORENCE

accumulation of monuments and sculptures at Delphi. Each piece serves as a visual guide to the power shifts in the region. Athenians, Spartans, Macedonians, and Romans all poured their wealth into making the "center of the world" reflect their glory. Delphi also hosted athletic, poetry, and music competitions. It was the venue for the Pythian Games, held every four years, second only to the ones held in Olympia.

Despite its status as a sacred site, Delphi was an attractive target for pillaging. An attack by the Persians came in 480 B.C., and one by the Gauls followed in 279 B.C. Rome took over Delphi in 191 B.C., but allowed the religious rituals and athletic competitions to continue. Things changed when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire in A.D. 380. Between 391 and 392 Emperor Theodosius I banned pagan practices and closed Greek temples, including those at Delphi. With its religious function stripped away, the site fell into decay. A small settlement took root at the site and grew into the village of Kastri.

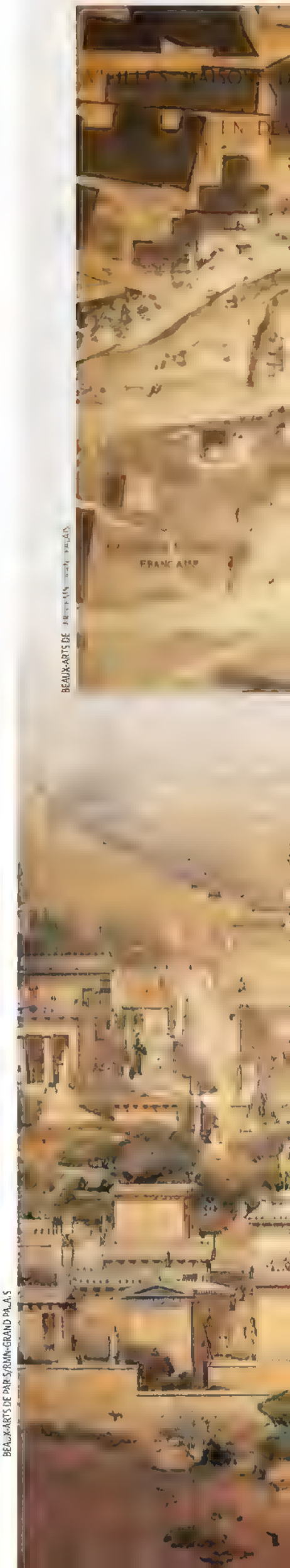
Visitors were very rare in the centuries that followed. In 1436 an Italian merchant, Cyriacus of Ancona, made the arduous journey to Delphi, with his notes revealing what was left of the stadium and the theater, a round building he mistook for the Temple of Apollo, with some of its statues still standing. Greece became a part of the Ottoman Empire in 1453, which postponed Cyriacus's idea to "restore antiquity, or redeem it from extinction." The former center of the world would remain in obscurity for roughly 400 years.



**THE SPHINX OF NAXOS** DATES TO THE MID-SIXTH CENTURY B.C. DELPHI ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, GREECE AKG/A.BJM

### Buried Treasures

It waited, in fact, until Greece became independent from the Ottomans in 1832. Greece felt a new need to encourage an appreciation of its glorious past and protection of its rich culture. It enacted laws against the sale of antiquities, created the Greek Archaeological Society, and



BEAUX-ARTS DE PARIS/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

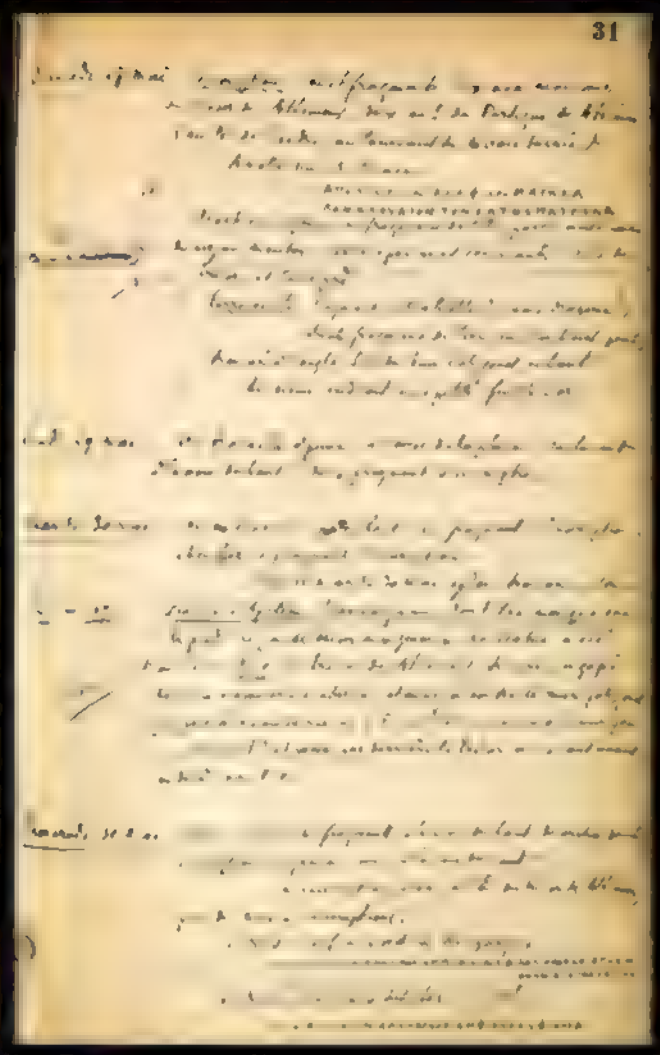
# GRAND TOUR OF DELPHI

**A MOTLEY ARRAY** of buildings, monuments, and offerings stretch across terraces at Delphi, connected by pathways. The main entrance was once farther to the east than the one used today, though there were other secondary entrances. Today, a visit to the site would follow the Sacred Way, which was laid out in Roman times, when it was paved and extended to reach the houses built on the upper terrace. From the agora, the route climbs the hill before it turns sharply to the right after the *omphalos*—the stone representing the center of the world—and leads past the treasuryof the Athenians. It turns once again, threading its way across the esplanade of the polygonal wall. There, a path leads to the terrace of the temple, surrounded by offerings. To the east, a ramp leads to the theater, situated on the upper terrace. Farther up, one path heads northward to the Kerna Spring, while another goes west in the direction of the stadium.

**EXCAVATION STATUS** (LEFT) AT DELPHI IN NOVEMBER 1893. IN 1894, ALBERT TOURNAIRE PAINTED HOW HE IMAGINED THE SANCTUARY OF APOLLO APPEARED IN ANCIENT GREECE (BELOW).

# FINDING THE FIRST TWIN

ON MAY 30, 1893, Théophile Homolle documented an exciting discovery in his excavation journal: "We found the early statue of Apollo (?), which lacks only its feet. The legs have been preserved down to the knee. The statue was found to the NW of the Athenian Treasury, very nearby, set into a modern wall and resting on the polygonal wall that heads off from the Sacred Way to the SE of the Treasury (covered in inscriptions at this point) and continues westward." Next to the entry, in the margin, the name Kleobis is written in pencil, correcting the initial identification of the statue. The statue's base, identifying the sculptor, appeared on November 30, and the next year, on May 28, 1894, the statue of Biton was found. In Greek myth Kleobis and his twin brother Biton were so strong that they were hitched up to the chariot of their mother, a priestess of Hera. For five miles, the brothers pulled the chariot to Hera's temple in Argos.




**PAGE FROM** HOMOLLE'S DIARY OF THE EXCAVATIONS. THE DIARY DETAILS THE WORKS CARRIED OUT BETWEEN 1892 AND 1901, LISTS THE FINDS, AND INCLUDES CORRECTIONS AS NEW DISCOVERIES WERE MADE.

JOURNAL DE LA GRANDE FOUILLE DE DELPHES (1892-1901), PAGE 31. DELPHES 2-C DPH 23, ARCHIVES EFA

**CAPTURING THE MOMENT**
Homolle's team took this photograph on May 30, 1893, when the statue of Kleobis (above) first emerged, largely intact, from the ground.

N.C./ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'ATHÈNES, MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS/EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES OF PHOKIS

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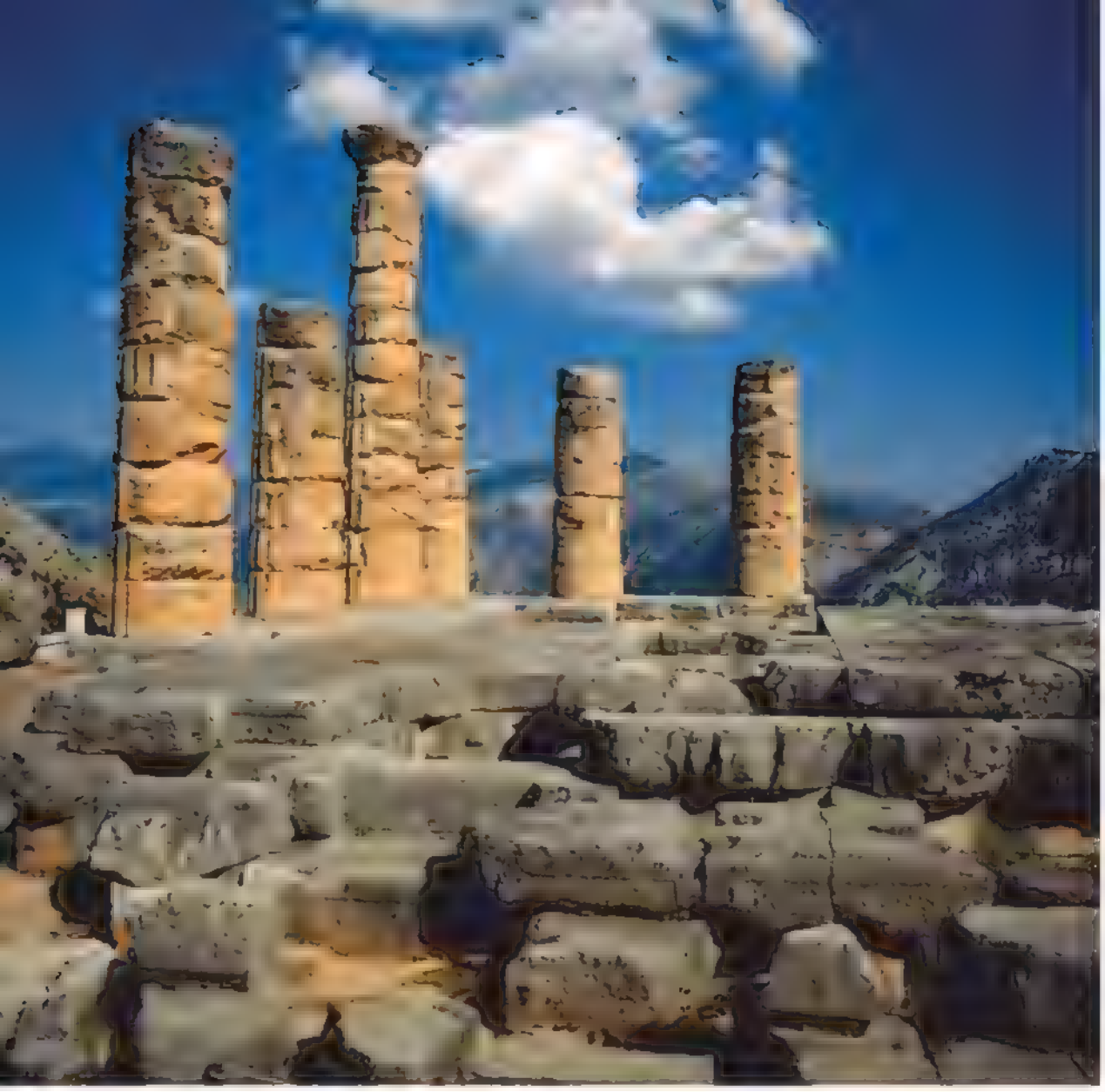
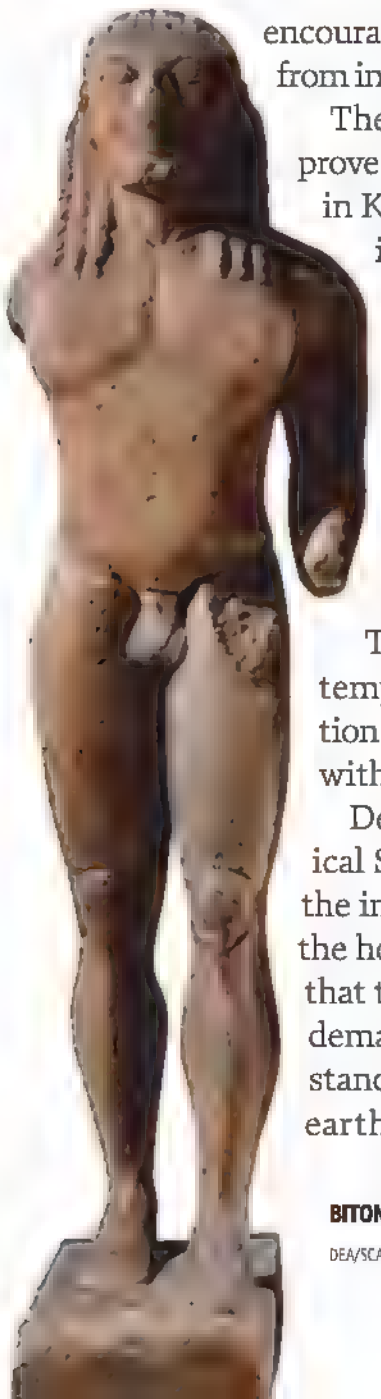


**ASKING THE ORACLE**
All that remains of the Temple of Apollo, situated on the third terrace, are six broken Doric columns. Here the Pythia would deliver prophecies to those who came to consult the god.

JOHANNA HUBER/FOTOTECA 9X12



encouraged archaeological endeavors from interested European countries.

The excavation of Delphi would prove a gargantuan task. The homes in Kastri would need to be forcibly purchased, the residents compensated, and then relocated. Greece could not afford such a major expenditure, so it had to rely on foreign capital. In 1840 and again in 1860 archaeologists conducted preliminary studies in open areas of ground. They unearthed part of the temple substructure and a section of its supporting wall, covered with inscriptions.

Despite the Greek Archaeological Society's efforts to convince the inhabitants of Kastri to move, the homeowners soon figured out that their lands were valuable and demanded more money. Circumstances changed when a powerful earthquake brought down large rocks from the mountain, destroying the village and killing 30 people.

Following the disaster, a commission set about searching for a new site to replace the thousand village plots and to negotiate with the residents. Seeing that the funds available were no match for the stubbornness of the villagers, the Greek Archaeological Society ceded the land to the French so that they could carry out a small excavation in 1880.

Bertrand Haussoullier, director of the French excavations in Delphi at this time, concentrated on the immediate area between the sectors excavated earlier. Haussoullier was convinced that he was looking at the temple terrace, but he was confused by the walls in front of him. The excavations revealed that it was the esplanade next to the terrace, where commemorative monuments had been erected by the different city-states and regional powers throughout the sanctuary's history. The walls belonged to one of these monuments, the Stoa of the Athenians, built in the early fifth century B.C. to house trophies won in naval battles. Alongside appeared the collapsed column of the Sphinx, an offering from the island of Naxos.

**BITON.** KOUROS FROM THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C., ARCHAIC PERIOD. DELPHI ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

DEA/SCALA, FLORENCE

**EMERGING FROM THE EARTH**
On May 28, 1894, the statue of Biton was discovered buried just 30 feet away from his counterpart, the statue of Kleobis, which was discovered a year earlier.

N.G. /ECOLE FRANÇAISE D'ATHÈNES, MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS/EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES OF PHOKIS

## SAVED BY THE BURIAL

**THIS SCULPTURE** is one of the ones that seem to have been buried beneath the Sacred Way in antiquity, where it was found in a votive deposit along with other offerings. It is a chryselephantine (ivory and gold) statue that many believe represents the god Apollo. The face is charred from a fire that seems to have led to the Sanctuary of Delphi being rebuilt in the sixth or fifth century B.C. It is believed that the Apollo figure is a creation from a workshop in Ionia (in present-day Turkey), and some scholars consider it to be part of the magnificent offerings made by Croesus, the wealthy king of Lydia in the sixth century B.C. The survival and burial of Apollo and the other pieces is due to their sacred nature: They could not be sold or reworked.

**APOLLO'S SMILE** IS A TYPICAL FEATURE OF THE ARCHAIC PERIOD OF GREEK ART. DELPHI ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

KEN WELSH/ALAMY/ACI

### Beginnings of the Big Dig

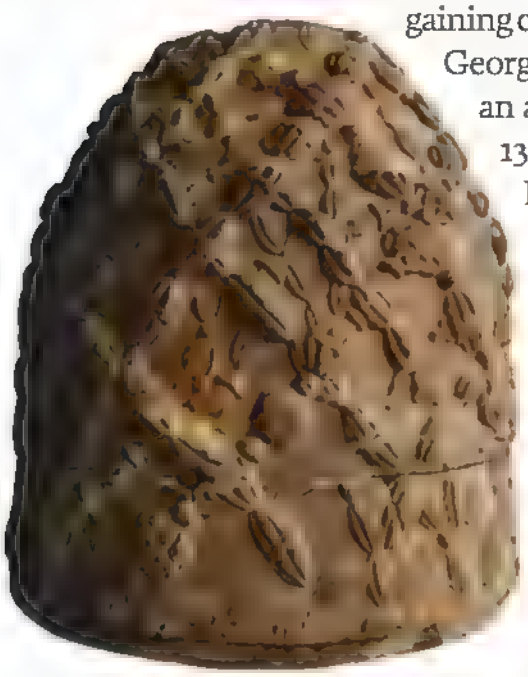
Founded in 1846, the French School at Athens was in close competition with its German counterpart, the German Archaeological Institute, for access to sites in Greece. When the Germans were granted exclusive rights to excavate Olympia in 1874, the French lobbied hard for exclusive access to other classical sites.

In 1881 Greek prime minister Aléxandros Koumoundhoûros put exclusive access to Delphi on the table. He offered Delphi to France in exchange for its support in Greek territorial claims. The French were hesitant, and so began a 10-year period of negotiations, which the French called the "Trojan War." Delphi became a bargaining chip. In the end, King George I of Greece signed an agreement on April 13, 1891, allowing the French to work exclusively at the site. The Grande Fouille (Big Dig) was due to begin in September 1892, but the villagers, concerned because they had not yet been paid for their lands, turned up at the entrance and refused to allow anyone in. The police were called to protect the archaeologists until the villagers were paid.

Work continued from 1892 to 1901 and was overseen by Théophile Homolle, future director of the Louvre Museum. It was a complex project: The site measured more than 200,000 square feet; there were 200 laborers working for 10 hours a day; and nearly two and a half miles of train track had to be laid to support the 75 cars necessary to haul away over one million cubic feet of excavated earth.

Despite the difficulties of the location—wind, rain, and rockfalls—the French efforts soon yielded wonderful results. In 1893 they uncovered the main altar of Apollo's temple, the Altar of the Chians, as well as the Sybil rock where the Pythia made her prophecies. The Athenian Treasury, also discovered in 1893, featured a truly noteworthy find: stone blocks inscribed with the words and notated music of the Hymn to Apollo.

Dating to different eras of occupations of the site, statues of athletes



**THE *OMPHALOS,*** OR NAVEL, OF THE WORLD IS REPRESENTED BY THIS STONE. FIFTH CENTURY B.C. DELPHI ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, GREECE

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

**HOLDING THE REINS**

The bronze statue of the Charioteer was cast in four pieces that were then assembled. It was the first monumental sculpture discovered during the excavations.

MARIE MAUZY/SCALA, FLORENCE

A REAR VIEW OF THE RECONSTRUCTED ATHENIAN TREASURY. ITS SIPHNIAN COUNTERPART STOOD NEARBY, TO ITS LEFT, A BIT FARTHER DOWN THE DELPHIAN PLATEAU.

REYNOLD MAINSE/ALAMY/ACI

**RECONSTRUCTION** OF THE SIPHNIAN TREASURY, DRAWN BY GEORGES DAUX AND ERIK HANSEN

**ILLUSTRATION:** GEORGES DAUX, ERIK HANSEN/EFA. MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS/EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES OF PHOKIS. **PHOTO:** MARIE MAUZY/SCALA, FLORENCE

were common among the artifacts at Delphi. Discovered a year apart from each other, the twin statues of Kleobis and Biton date to about 580 B.C. These two massive freestanding figures stand more than eight feet tall and represent two mythological brothers famous for their strength.

In 1896 the most famous athletic statue was unearthed: the impressive bronze figure of the Charioteer. Standing about six feet tall, the freestanding statue is believed to be part of a much larger group of sculptures, now lost. It was recovered from the Temple of Apollo, where it had been buried by a rockslide in the fourth century B.C. Inscriptions near the base indicate that it was erected in the 470s B.C. to commemorate a racing victory in the Pythian Games.

The archaeologists worked hard to uncover different structures at the site. Between 1896 and 1897 the theater and stadium that held the Pythian Games were excavated, followed by the gymnasium and the Castalian Spring, and, beginning in 1898, the lower terrace or Marmaria where the Temple of Athena Pronaia stood.

The French kept scrupulous journals of the excavation, made use of photography to document their finds, and published annual reports that documented their progress. These innovative practices soon became standard for archaeology. When the dig came to an end, Homolle was unimpressed by all the dig's successes. He declared he was disappointed "not to have found a metope or a piece of frieze, nor even the finger of a figure on the pediment of the temple," nor the chasm mentioned in ancient texts.

The Big Dig was the start of a long journey that continues to this day to uncover the secrets of Delphi. Restoring this iconic place of the ancient world has revealed the complexity of religion, wealth, and power in the world of the ancient Greeks.

UNESCO declared Delphi a World Heritage site in 1987. In 1992, at the celebrations to mark the centennial of the French excavation, Jean Leclant, secretary emeritus at the College of France, described the excavation as "the triumph of the spirit of Apollo, all wisdom and beauty."

ARCHAEOLOGIST **MARÍA TERESA MAGADÁN** HAS PARTICIPATED ON EXCAVATIONS AT ANCIENT GREEK AND ROMAN SITES ACROSS THE MEDITERRANEAN SINCE THE 1970S.

*Learn more*

***Delphi: A History of the Center of the Ancient World***
Michael Scott, Princeton University Press, 2015

# CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION

**ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS,** the ancient Greek historian, the tiny island of Siphnos in the Aegean Sea, with a population of only about two to three thousand people, literally struck gold—and silver—in the sixth century B.C. Its newfound bounty was initially distributed among the islanders, but they found that they wanted their neighbors to be aware of their wealth. And there was no better place to materialize their boast than Delphi. By 525 B.C. they created a community fund to build the largest and most magnificent treasury in the sanctuary. They used the finest marble available and commissioned exquisite reliefs and caryatids (female-shaped columns). A number of blocks of the frieze were found before the Big Dig, but in April 1894 Homolle discovered the foundations, the rest of the frieze—showing a battle between the Olympian gods and giants, as well as scenes from the Trojan War—and the east pediment, which depicts Heracles and Apollo competing for the Delphic tripod of the Pythia. Homolle initially believed it was the Cnidian Treasury but soon realized his mistake.

**EAST PEDIMENT** OF THE SIPHNIAN TREASURY, SHOWING APOLLO AND HERACLES FIGHTING FOR THE TRIPOD. DELPHI ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

**SACRED SIGHTS**
Frescoes of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, evangelists, prophets, and angels adorn the walls of the church of the Red Monastery, built in the late fifth century A.D. as part of the flowering of Coptic culture in Egypt.

PEDRO COSTA GOMES

*Foundations of Faith*

# COPTIC CHRISTIANITY IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Christianity's origins in the ancient world are found in many places, but perhaps the most surprising are in Egypt, where the new faith took root and flourished shortly after the death of Jesus.

JOSÉ PÉREZ-ACCINO

**SAFETY IN EGYPT**

In this detail of a 13th-century Coptic manuscript, the Flight into Egypt (top right) is depicted. This episode is of particular importance to Copts, who revere the places in Egypt where they believe the Holy Family wandered.

AKG/ALBUM

Egypt, land of the pyramids, is the setting for many of the best known tales from the Old Testament. Through Moses, God punishes the Egyptian pharaoh for holding the Hebrew people in bondage. Betrayed by his brothers, young Joseph suffers in slavery in Egypt before rising to become vizier, second in power only to Pharaoh.

When turning to the New Testament, many people think of the lands of Israel and Palestine, the places where Jesus was born and preached. Egypt, however, also provides a key location in his story: a safe haven for the Holy Family. In the Gospel of Matthew, Mary, Joseph, and the infant Jesus flee from Jerusalem and King Herod, who wanted to kill the child. The family stays in Egypt until the danger has passed.

In addition to its important place in Scripture, Egypt was a fertile garden in the early flowering of Christianity. From the first century A.D., as the faith took root and began to grow, Egypt became an important religious center, as theologians and scholars flocked there. Egyptian Christianity developed its own distinctive flavor, shaped by the words, culture, and history of ancient Egypt. This branch of Christianity would become the Coptic Orthodox Church, and its followers would be known as Coptic Christians, or, more simply, as Copts.

The name Copt has had a long journey. It comes from the European pronunciation of the

**A COPTIC CHILD'S TUNIC** (DATE UNKNOWN). NATIONAL MUSEUM, RAVENNA, ITALY BRIDGEMAN/ACI

## EGYPT'S HOLY HISTORY

**CIRCA A.D. 68**
St. Mark, founder of the Egyptian church, is martyred in Alexandria, according to Coptic and wider Christian tradition.

**303**
Emperor Diocletian orders the persecution of Christians. Large numbers of Egyptian Christians die in the Coptic "age of martyrs."

**PAGAN PAST**

Egypt's Christians were reminded of the splendor of their ancient religions, like the hypostyle hall of the Temple of Hathor, at Dandara. A Coptic basilica was built nearby in the fifth century.

ANDREY POPOV/GETTY IMAGES

**CIRCA 356**

The Desert Father St. Anthony the Great dies. His monastic model is adopted across the Christian world.

**380**

Although Nicene Christianity has become the state religion of the empire, church leaders clash over doctrine.

**451**

Following the Council of Chalcedon, the Copts split with much of the Christian world in a bitter dispute about the divine nature of Christ.

**642**

Alexandria is conquered by an Arab army. Christians are initially tolerated by their new Muslim masters, but Egypt steadily Islamizes.

**MIRACLE IN EGYPT**

In Alexandria Mark (left, at right) heals a cobbler, Anianus (seated), who converts and later succeeds Mark as head of the Egyptian church. Painting by G. Mansueti, 16th century. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, Italy

AKG/A.BJM

**STATUETTE OF** THE GRECO-EGYPTIAN GOD SERAPIS, SECOND CENTURY B.C., BRONZE INLAID WITH SILVER. LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS

AKG/A.BJM

Arabic word *qibt*, which derives from the Greek name for Egypt, Aigyptos. This in turn is derived from Hwt-ka-ptah, a temple in Memphis dedicated to Ptah. The Coptic language also arose from a blend of cultures, of Egyptian words written in Greek script. Several dialects evolved over the centuries, and many important Christian texts have been discovered written in Coptic.

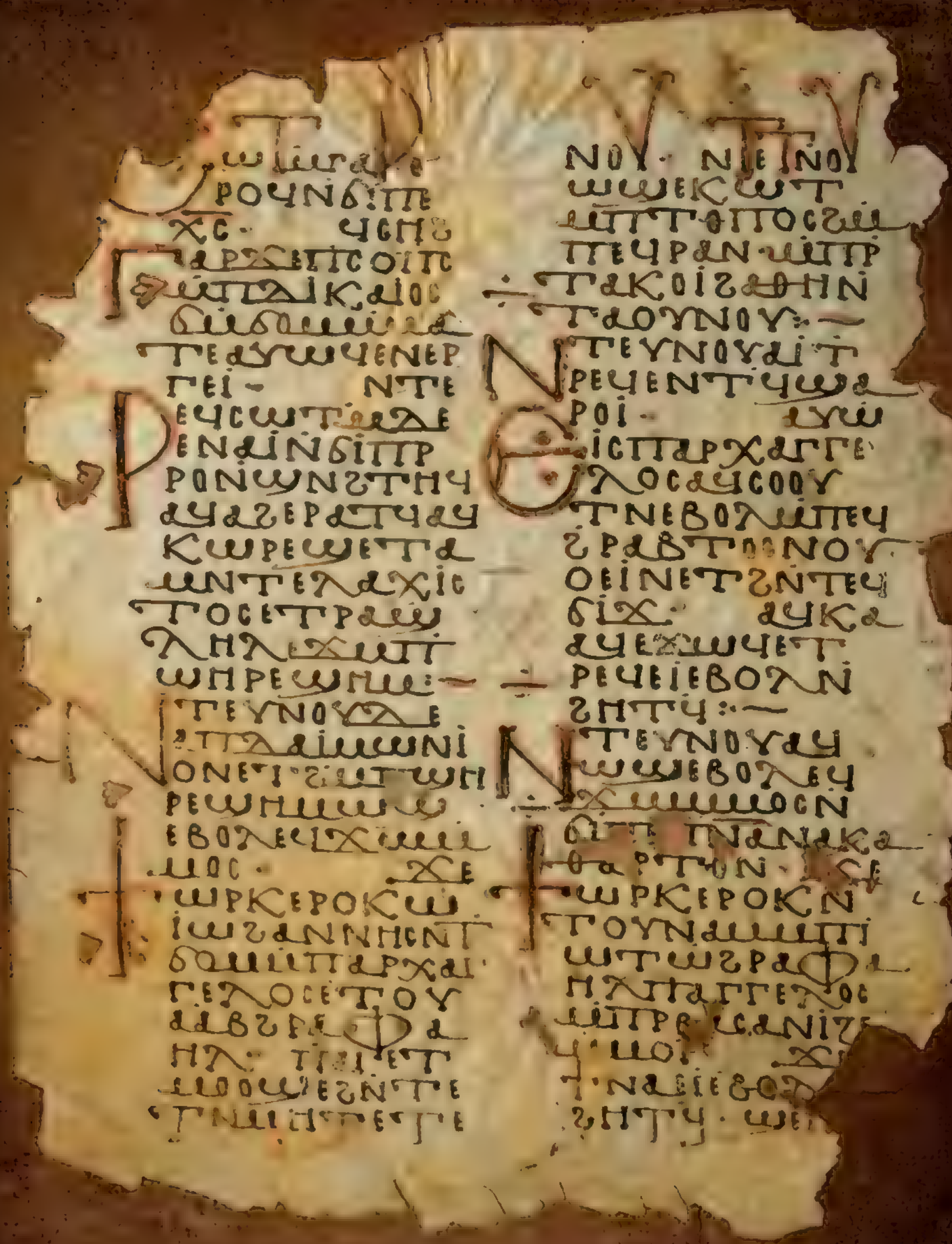
Before Christianity became established, the existing religion of Egypt had roots reaching back millennia. After the golden age of Ramses II and his successors ended, Egypt underwent invasions by Libyans, Nubians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans. Even so, Egypt's old religion proved remarkably durable, partially due to its ability to absorb other influences.

With few exceptions, invaders either adopted, or adapted, the venerable faith. The Nubians declared their loyalty to the Egyptian god Amun. In their admiration for Egyptian gods, the Ptolemaic dynasty (established by Alexander the Great's general Ptolemy in 305 B.C.) created hybrid Greco-Egyptian gods such as Serapis.

## Early Beginnings

Christianity's early traces can be found in the Flight into Egypt. Several sites in the country are associated with the Holy Family's wanderings, including the Al Muharraq monastery in the Nile Valley in central Egypt. The monks believe the monastery's Church of the Virgin is built where the family sheltered for a little more than six months during their time in Egypt. Another sacred site is in El Matariya, a suburb of Cairo, near the ancient city of Heliopolis. Tradition says that a sycamore tree, which became famous as the Virgin Mary's tree, shaded the family during their journey.

According to Coptic tradition, the Christian church in Egypt was founded in Alexandria by St. Mark in the mid-first century A.D. Author of the second gospel in the New Testament, Mark became Alexandria's first bishop and began spreading the teachings of Jesus. Historical sources support this claim. The Greek historian Eusebius, writing around 310, wrote in his *Ecclesiastical History:* "They say that this Mark was the first to have set out to Egypt to proclaim the Gospel, which he had written, and the first to establish churches in Alexandria."



**BETWEEN EGYPT AND GREECE.** The final stage in the development of the ancient Egyptian language, Coptic emerged in the second century A.D., adopting letters from the Greek alphabet as well as retaining seven characters from the demotic, a simplified form of hieroglyphics. Pictured is a 10th-century Coptic codex containing an inscription about the archangel Raphael. Louvre Museum, Paris.

SCALA, FLORENCE

**THE MONASTERY OF ST. MACARIUS** WAS FOUNDED IN A.D. 360 SOON AFTER THE DEATH OF ST. ANTHONY THE GREAT, FATHER OF THE CHRISTIAN MONASTIC TRADITION.

PEDRO COSTA GOMES

Other histories compiled about Mark recall his teachings as well as miracles credited to him. On arrival in Alexandria, Mark is said to have miraculously healed the hand of a cobbler, Anianus. Copts believe that Mark's teachings attracted controversy and eventually led to his martyrdom around A.D. 68. The observance of Easter fell at the same time as a festival for the Greco-Egyptian god Serapis. Mark refused to worship the pagan god, and an enraged mob tied a rope around his neck and dragged him through the streets to his death.

## A Growing Faith

Historians have long been fascinated by how quickly Christianity gained such a strong foothold in Egypt. One clue to its rapid spread may lie in Alexandria itself. In the very early Christian period, this city was a vibrant center of learning and philosophy. Throughout the third century, leading scholars of the world flocked there. Alexandria was also home to a large Jewish population, who might have been receptive to the teachings of Christianity. Acts 18:24-25 mentions a "Jew named Apollos, a native of Alexandria ... well-versed in the scriptures ... [who] spoke with burning enthusiasm and taught accurately the things concerning Jesus," offering an insight into the growing Christian presence in the city.

Like Jerusalem, Antioch, and Rome, Alexandria was a leading center of early Christian thought. The School of Alexandria was the first Christian institution of higher learning, founded in the mid-second century A.D. Early leaders included St. Clement of Alexandria, who was born a pagan in A.D. 150, converted to Christianity, and became a leading spiritual thinker, teacher, and author. One of Clement's pupils was Origen, whose A.D. 248 tract Against Celsus refuted pagan attacks on Christian doctrine and proved a crucial text in defending the new faith far beyond Egypt.

Another noted Alexandrian thinker was Valentinus, whose interpretation of Christianity required believers to embrace divine knowledge—in Greek, *gnosis*. Gnosticism, as it came to be known, penetrated early Christian communities in Egypt, where its gospels, including the mysterious Gospel of Judas, seem to have been widely circulated.

In a period when paganism and Christianity coexisted, there was cross-pollination between the two. The ancient Egyptian symbol for life, the ankh—a cross surmounted by a handle—influenced the development of the cross known as the *crux ansata,* used extensively in Coptic symbolism. Even so, Christianity advanced in the fourth century. In the early 300s Oxyrhynchus had 12 pagan temples and two churches; a century later, the situation was reversed.

Egypt was also the site of another important development in Christianity: monasticism, a practice born in the deserts of Egypt. Imitating Jesus' wanderings in the wilderness, holy hermits underwent extreme privations to deepen their faith. The most famous of the Desert Fathers was St. Anthony the Great. His visions, in which the devil appeared to him in the guise of a pious believer or a beautiful woman, had a profound effect on Christian notions of Satan.

## Periods of Persecution

Between the first and fourth centuries, the Roman Empire unleashed a series of persecutions against Christians. The most savage measures were passed under Emperor Diocletian in 303, which resulted in the death of hundreds of thousands of believers. According to tradition,

**A HANDLE-TOPPED COPTIC CROSS** ON A FIFTH- TO SIXTH-CENTURY STELA, A FORM INFLUENCED BY THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ANKH SYMBOL, REPRESENTING LIFE. COPTIC MUSEUM, CAIRO

SCALA, FLORENCE

**INTERWOVEN TRADITIONS**
A third- or fourth-century shroud found at the Roman-Egyptian city of Antinoöpolis, depicting a young woman holding a cross resembling the ankh, a sacred ancient Egyptian symbol. Louvre Museum, Paris

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

TOMBS IN THE COPTIC NECROPOLIS AT EL BAGAWAT IN THE EL KHARGA OASIS IN EGYPT'S WESTERN DESERT

RENE MATTES/GTRES

# Powerful Prayers

**AS WELL AS** adapting symbols such as the ankh, Coptic Christianity may also have been influenced by ancient pharaonic liturgies. The revered fourth- and fifth-century monastic reformer St. Shenute decreed that novice monks should recite the following covenant:

*I will not defile my body in any way, I will not steal, I will not bear false witness, I will not lie, I will not do anything deceitful secretly . . .*

**THERE IS A STRIKING** parallel with the ancient mortuary texts known as the Book of the Dead, which took form around the 16th century B.C. In the long Negative Confession, the deceased must swear to Osiris the following lines: "I have not committed sin . . . I have not uttered lies . . . I have not polluted myself."

**A COPTIC STELA** FROM A FIFTH-CENTURY TOMB IN THE OASIS OF AL FAYYUM. COPTIC MUSEUM, CAIRO

AKG/A.BJM

one victim during this period, which Copts call the age of martyrs, was St. Catherine of Alexandria.Her story is one of the best known. The daughter of the governor of Alexandria, she challenged the emperor Maxentius, who had her tortured. When he ordered her execution, the spiked wheel she was to be killed upon broke when she touched it. After the Edict of Milan in 313, the persecutions stopped, and Christians could worship freely. By 380 Christianity (based on the principles established at the Council of Nicaea) became the official faith of the empire.

Theological differences strained the early church, and Egypt's Christians found themselves at the forefront of these conflicts. In the fifth century church leaders across the empire began to debate whether Jesus could be both mortal and divine. In 451, 520 bishops met at the Council of Chalcedon to consider the matter. The debate split the church into factions, beginning a rift that would separate the Copts from other branches of the Christian faith.

For the next two centuries the Egyptian church blossomed, attracting more and more followers. The revered fourth- and fifth-century monastic reformer St. Shenute built a lasting legacy of learning and piety at the monumental White Monastery in present-day Sohag on the west bank of the Nile. Its colossal library of Coptic texts was the marvel of the Christian world. At its peak there may have been as many as 4,000 monks and nuns living there.

Egypt's position at the crossroads of the African and eastern Mediterranean had always been coveted by invaders, and in 642, Alexandria fell to the Arab invaders, bearers of the new Muslim creed. Although the new regime initially tolerated the church, the population began steadily to convert to Islam. Coptic Christianity held fast as the faith of Egypt changed again. Today, it is estimated that some 10 percent of Egyptians practice the Coptic faith, led since 2012 by Pope Tawadros II, the latest in an unbroken line of patriarchs believed to stretch back to the Gospel writer St. Mark.

EGYPTOLOGIST JOSÉ PÉREZ-ACCINO TEACHES ANCIENT HISTORY AT THE COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID, SPAIN.

**THE VIRGIN ENTHRONED** holds Jesus on her lap and is surrounded by the Apostles in this fresco decorating a painted niche at the Bawit Monastery south of Cairo. Founded by a holy hermit around A.D. 385, the monastery declined in the ninth century, but its iconic, vibrant artworks remain.

DEA/A. BJM

# NICOLAUS COPERNICUS

## *The Reluctant Revolutionary*

As new ideas about science and religion were dividing Europe, a Polish clergyman quietly pieced together a unifying theory that reorganized the heavens.

ERNEST KOWALCZYK

ITEM, DE LIBRIS REVOLVTIONVM NICOLAI Copernici Narratio prima, per M. Georgium Ioachimum Rheticum ad D. Ioan. Schonerum scripta.

Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Cæs. Maiest.

BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA HENRICPETRINA.

**HIS LIFE'S WORK**
Copernicus is shown at work in a 20th-century painting by Jean-Léon Huens, commissioned by the National Geographic Society. On the left is the frontispiece of the 1566 second edition of Copernicus's life work, *Six Books Concerning the Revolutions of the Heavenly Orbs*, printed in Basel.

**PORTRAIT:** NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC CREATIVE/ALAMY/ACI
**FRONTISPIECE:** CULTURE CLUB/GETTY IMAGES

# The Sacred and the Stars

**1473**
Nicolaus Copernicus is born in Torun, Poland. After his father's death, his uncle, Lucas Watzenrode, a senior cleric, cares for Nicolaus.

**1491**
Copernicus begins his education in Krakow. Later, he will study law and medicine at Italian universities while also learning astronomy.

**1503**
Copernicus returns to his homeland and works for his uncle, who has become the Bishop of Warmia, a region near the Baltic Sea.

**1512**
His uncle dies. Soon after, handwritten copies of Copernicus's *Commentariolus,* are circulated to a select group of scholars.

**1533**
German humanist J. A. Widmannstetter lectures on the Copernican theory at the Vatican during an audience with Pope Clement VII.

**1540**
G. J. Rheticus, a follower of the elderly Copernicus, persuades him to publish a one-volume summary of his working theories.

**1543**
One year after Copernicus agrees to publish his theories in full, *De revolutionibus* rolls off the press. Shortly after, Copernicus dies on May 24.

**A 1566 EDITION** OF ONE VOLUME IN COPERNICUS'S SIX-TOME WORK, *CONCERNING THE REVOLUTIONS OF THE HEAVENLY ORBS (DE REVOLUTIONIBUS).*

BRIDGEMAN/AC

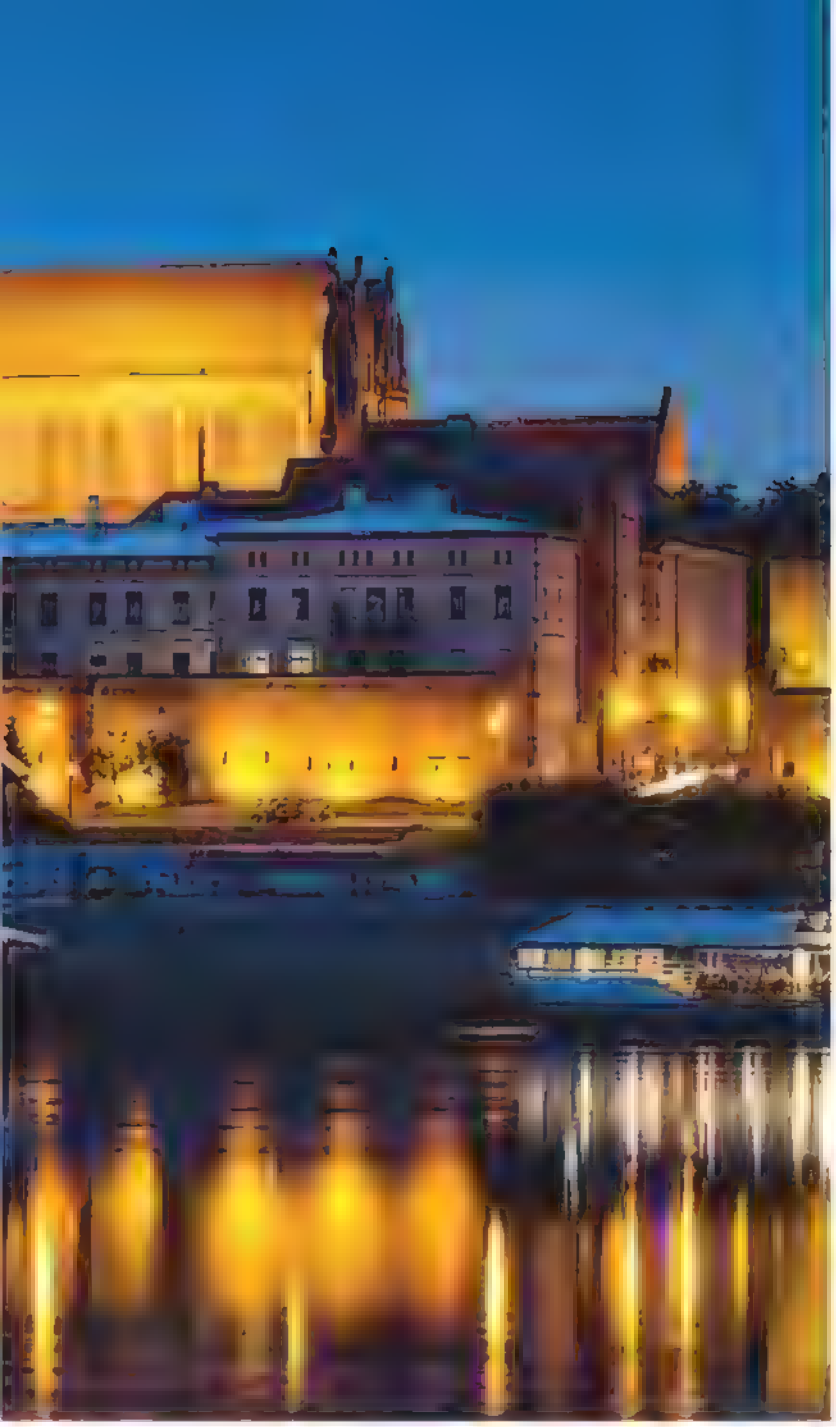
**GOD AND COMMERCE**
The son of a merchant, Nicolaus Copernicus was born in Torun (above) in 1473. Looming over the Vistula River, the Gothic cathedral reflects the city's medieval wealth.

KRIVINIS/GETTY IMAGES

Rumors were circulating in the 1530s that Nicolaus Copernicus, a cathedral cleric in a small Polish city, had written a revolutionary theory on the cosmos. To the frustration of many, however, the secretive clergyman was refusing to publish it.

Curiosity came from many quarters. One letter, written in 1536, begged for more information. It praised Copernicus's "new theory of the Universe according to which the Earth moves and the Sun occupies the basic, and hence, central, position." Its author was Cardinal Nikolaus von Schönberg, a prince of the Catholic Church.

By placing the sun at the center, Copernicus's idea overturned the ideas devised by the second-century astronomer Ptolemy. In Ptolemy's theory the sun and planets orbited the Earth, which was regarded as the orthodox model across the Christian world. Through decades of work, Copernicus had slowly and carefully found a new way of organizing the heavens, but his reticence kept these new ideas isolated from the public, who could only speculate about them.



POPE GREGORY XIII PRESIDES OVER DISCUSSIONS FOR A NEW CALENDAR. 16TH-CENTURY PAINTING

# FAITH IN ASTRONOMY

**A CENTURY BEFORE** Galileo's persecution, the church's attitude toward astronomy was more open. The Julian calendar, then in use, had become so inexact that it fell out of time with the seasons. Copernicus submitted a statement to a 1512-16 council convened to address the problem, in which he called for more accurate observations. A new "Gregorian" calendar with leap years was introduced under Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 and is still in use today.

A man of both science and faith, Copernicus lived during a time of great change in Europe. A new flowering of humanist thought was spreading throughout the continent, as scholars and artists looked back to the classical era and brought its influence to bear on art, architecture, literature, politics, and science. After Martin Luther published his Ninety-Five Theses in 1517, a religious revolution began that would roil the Catholic Church and form new denominations. Throughout all this tumult, Copernicus held fast at the center, methodically crafting his own astronomical revolution.

## A Renaissance Man

Copernicus was born Mikolaj Kopernik in 1473, in Torun, Poland. (Following the custom among scholars in the Renaissance, he later latinized his name.) A major port on the Vistula River, Torun was part of a loose grouping of rich, northern trading cities known as the Hanseatic League. Copernicus's father was a merchant, and historians speculate that he and his family dealt in copper, an association which gave rise to the family name. When Copernicus was 10 years old, his father died, and he went to live with his mother's brother, Lucas Watzenrode. Later appointed the Bishop of Warmia in northern Poland, Watzenrode became an important patron to his nephew.

Copernicus began his university studies in 1491 at the Academy of Krakow (today the Jagiellonian University), which was then attracting some of Europe's finest minds in mathematics and astronomy. Cosmopolitan Krakow, full of merchants and intellectuals, was an exciting place to receive an education. Reports of startling discoveries of new lands across the Atlantic by a Genoese sailor, Christopher Columbus, and the new humanist teachings of the Renaissance, were arriving in Poland from southern Europe. Krakow was the adoptive home of the flamboyant Italian scholar Filippo Buonaccorsi, secretary to the Polish king and tutor to his children.

After several years, Copernicus was drawn to Italy, the epicenter of humanist

**SYSTEM UPDATE**

Ptolemy, whose venerated Earth-centered system was challenged by Copernicus, is depicted in this 1476 painting by Pedro Berruguete.

BR DGEMAN/ACI

**LIFE OF THE MIND**

An engraving (below) of Filippo Buonaccorsi in the Dominican Monastery of Krakow, shows the Italian humanist in his study. Buonaccorsi helped foster the Renaissance spirit of Krakow that molded Copernicus.

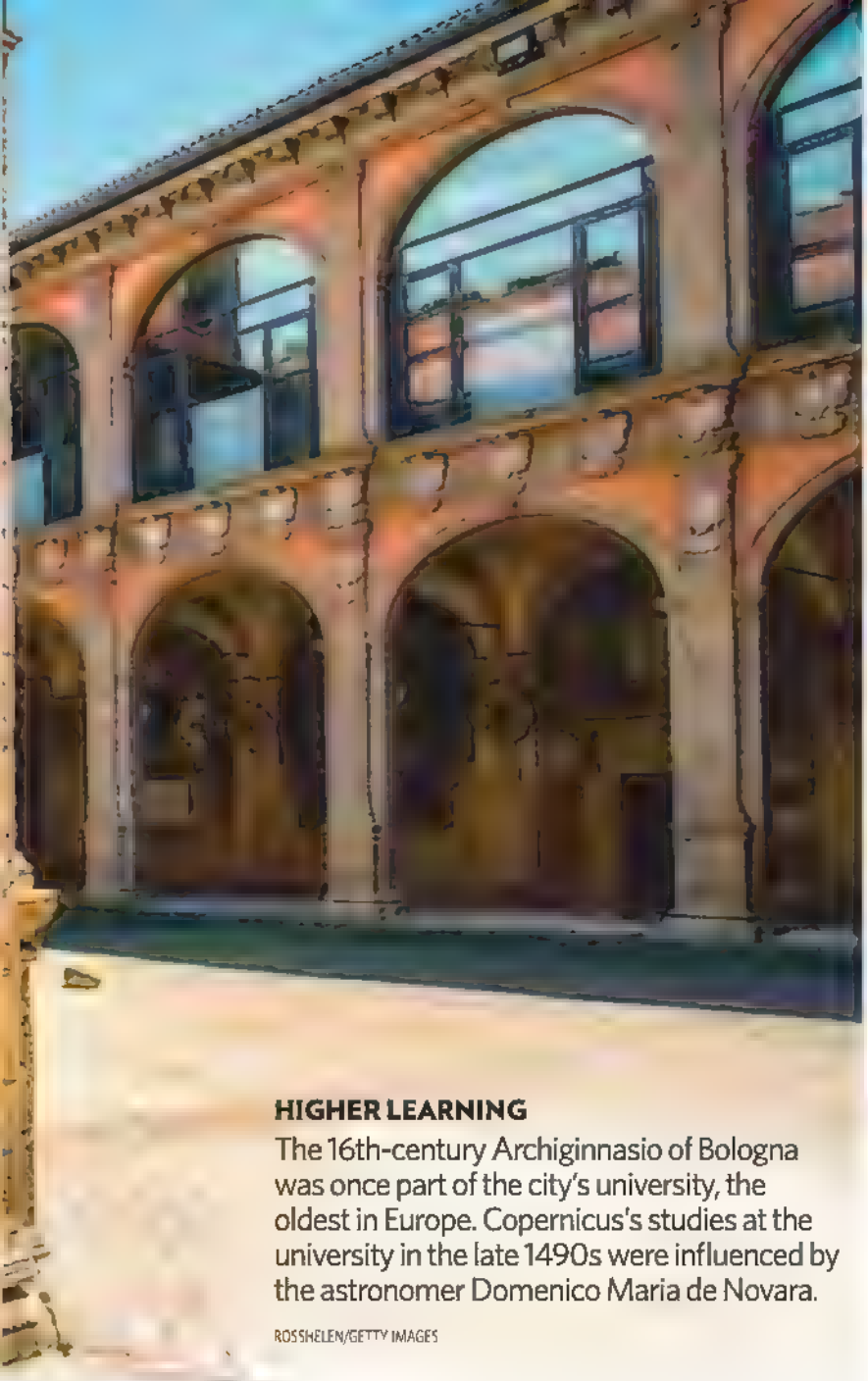
MARY EVANS/AGE FOTOSTOCK

learning at the time. Whatever diffidence he later showed in his scientific theories, Copernicus did not lack funds or time to pursue a solid student career there. In 1497 his uncle appointed him a canon at the cathedral of Frombork in his own diocese, even though Copernicus had begun his Italian studies a year before. The position gave him ample financial security. Well over a decade would pass before the absentee canon took up his duties on the chilly shores of the Baltic; in the interim, Copernicus dedicated himself to university life, first at Bologna, then at Padua, finally emerging as a doctor from the small university of Ferrara in 1503.

Higher education in this period was much more far-ranging than the specialism of a modern university. His studies included the intricacies of civil and church law, deemed essential for a high-ranking career in the clergy. In addition, Copernicus immersed himself in medicine and mathematics. This pairing was regarded as natural, epitomized in the 16th-century humanist scholar Jakob Milich, who served as both a professor of mathematics and anatomy. In his later career Copernicus would also be known as much as a physician as a mathematician.

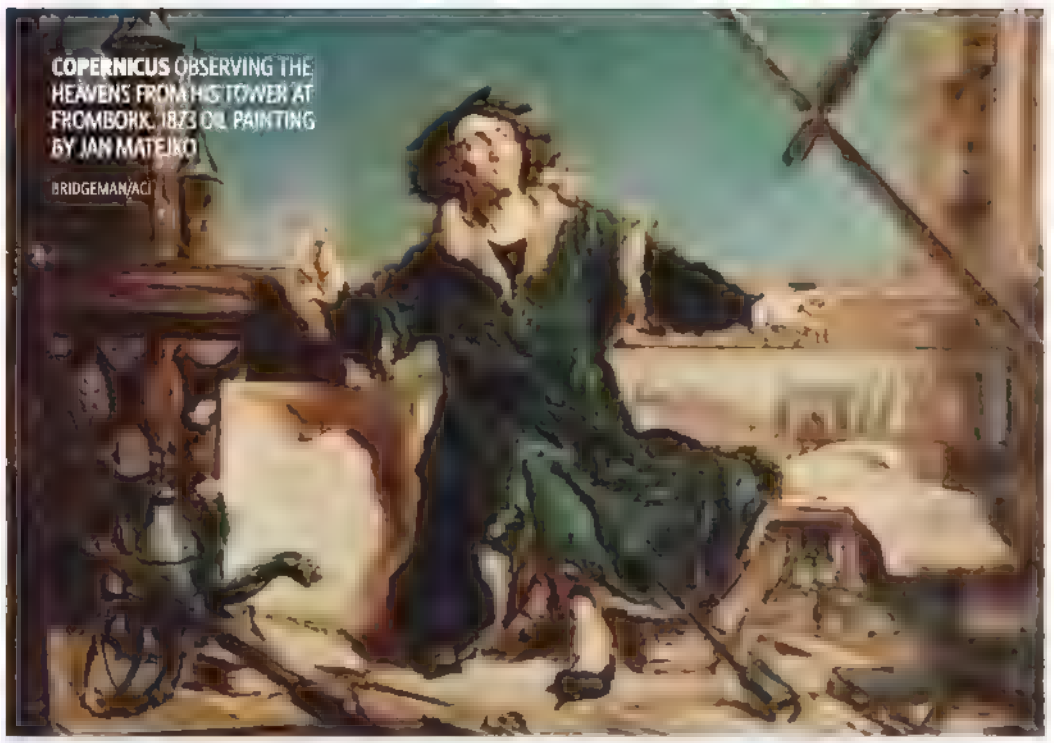
Another discipline that intrigued Copernicus was the study of the stars, which encompassed both astronomy and astrology. Today astronomy is regarded as a science, based on observation, while astrology—the idea that heavenly bodies affect the health and fortunes of people—is not. In Copernicus's time, however, scholars made no clear-cut distinction between the two. Bologna University's astronomer, for example, Domenico Maria de Novara, was tasked with providing astrological predictions for the city's rulers and nobility.

Novara proved to be an important influence on the young Polish stargazer. For a while, Copernicus lodged with him, and the two scholars made observations together. The invention of the telescope would not take place for over a century, so the two men relied on naked-eye observation, using their knowledge of Greek to consult treatises translated from Arabic, or the ancient classical works, such as the writings



**HIGHER LEARNING**
The 16th-century Archiginnasio of Bologna was once part of the city's university, the oldest in Europe. Copernicus's studies at the university in the late 1490s were influenced by the astronomer Domenico Maria de Novara.

ROSSHELEN/GETTY IMAGES



**COPERNICUS** OBSERVING THE HEAVENS FROM HIS TOWER AT FROMBORK, 1873 OIL PAINTING BY JAN MATEJKO

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

## CLEAR SKIES

**A TRADITION** holds that Copernicus made astronomical observations from a tower in the cathedral complex at Frombork. He found his adoptive home far from ideal for this purpose, and in *De revolutionibus* expresses his conservative view that things were better in classical times, especially in the land of Ptolemy: "The ancients had the advantage of a clearer sky; the Nile does not exhale such misty vapors as those we get from the Vistula."

of Ptolemy. Some of Ptolemy's assertions were already being questioned by Novara. He introduced Copernicus to the work of Johann Müller, known by his humanistic sobriquet Regiomontanus, another skeptic of the Ptolemaic model.

On March 9, 1497, together with Novara, Copernicus made his first known astronomical observation: At 11 p.m. both watched as the moon briefly eclipsed a distant star, Aldebaran, an event that cast doubt on Ptolemy's theory of the distance of the moon from the Earth. The idea that the Sun was fixed in the center of the cosmos was starting to take hold in Copernicus's mind.

### A Theory Evolves

In 1503 Copernicus returned north to his uncle's diocese in Poland. He spent several years working alongside his uncle as both his secretary and personal physician. He took part in minor acts of diplomacy on trips around Poland and also published a translation into Latin of a work by a seventh-century Byzantine historian. After his uncle's death in 1512, he devoted more time to the duties of a church canon, which were largely administrative: collecting rents, managing finances, securing military resources, and overseeing the local businesses (bakeries, breweries, and mills) of the diocese.

During this time Copernicus also continued his astronomical work. He earned a solid reputation as a leading mind of the time. In 1514 Copernicus was invited to contribute to a council to reform the calendar, so as to enable the church to fix feast days with more accuracy. Later, as an administrator at the Bishop's Castle in the Warmian city of Olsztyn, he produced an astronomical table, or heliograph, still visible on one of the walls of the castle cloister, for observing the movements of the sun.

Sometime before 1514, Copernicus wrote a small treatise, the *Commentariolus* ("little commentary" in Latin). He circulated a few handwritten copies among a learned elite. This small work, described by scholars as "a manuscript of six leaves," first presented Copernicus's notion that the Earth and other planets move while the sun stands still. Using his observations and

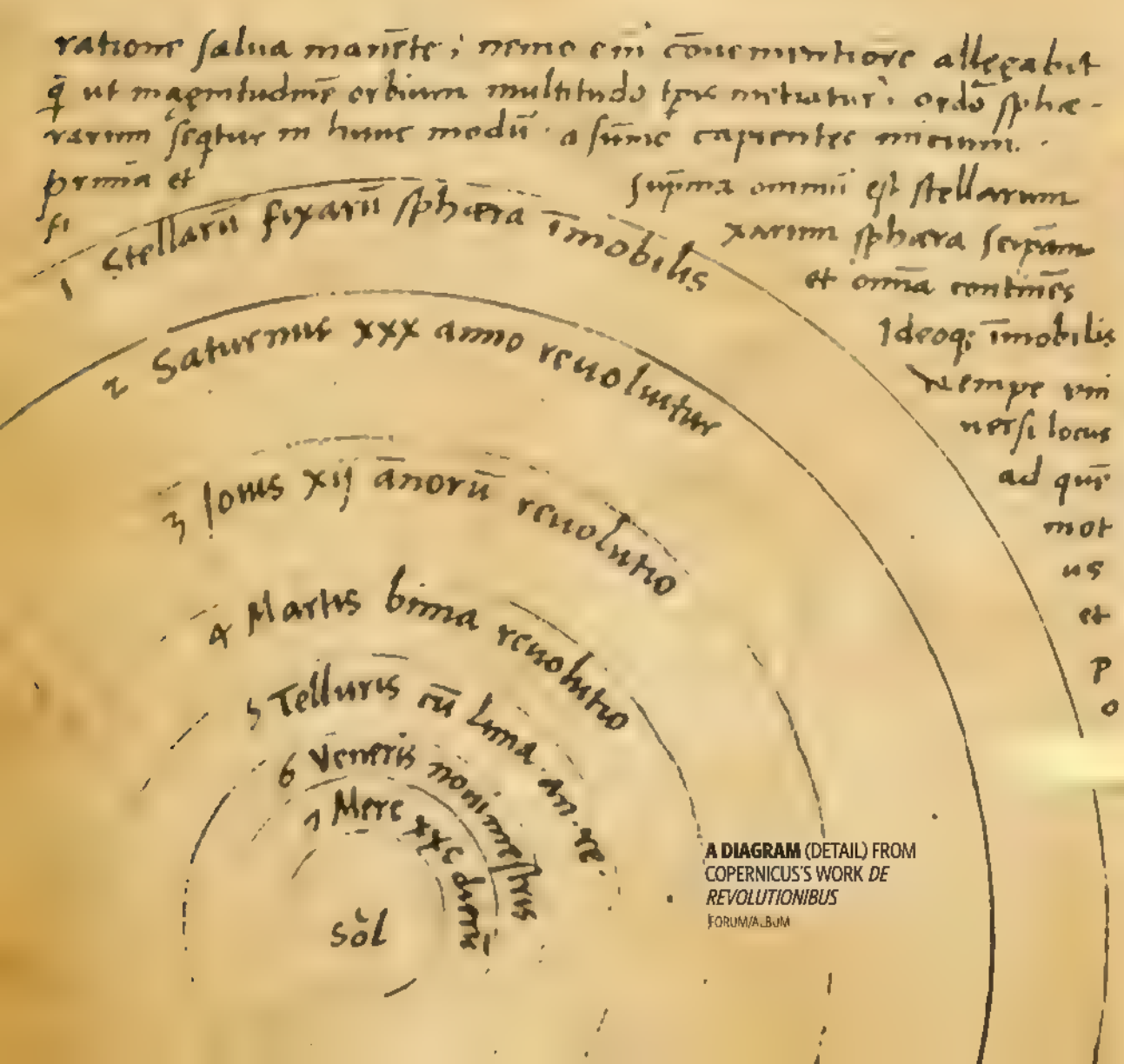
▲
*Armillary sphere*
A classic, Earth-centered, brass model made in 1549. The rings show the sun's annual path, equinoxes, solstices, and the zodiac. Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan
BR DGEMAN/ACI

# MAPPING THE STARS

**THE FIRST TELESCOPES** were developed in the early 1600s. Copernicus was limited to three instruments that the mathematician Ptolemy had described in the second century A.D. Two of these, the triquetrum (upper right) and the quadrant (lower right), were used to measure the height and position of the sun and other heavenly bodies. The third, the armillary sphere (left), shows the apparent movement of the heavens around the Earth. After the Copernican theory gained ground, armillary spheres were made to reflect the sun-centered model.

*Triquetrum* ▲
With its slanted arms, this instrument could measure how high an astronomical object was in the sky. The image shows a replica of the instrument used by Copernicus.
A_AMY/AC

*Quadrant* ▼
This instrument was used to measure the position of heavenly bodies according to the degrees marked in a semicircle. 1784. Brera Astronomical Observatory, Milan
BR DGEMAN/ACI


1 Stellarū fixarū sphæra ĩmobilis
2 Saturnus xxx anno reuoluitur
3 Iouis xij ānorū reuolutio
4 Martis bima reuolutio
5 Telluris cū luna an. re.
6 Veneris nonimestris
7 Mercurius xxc dierū
Sōl

**A DIAGRAM** (DETAIL) FROM COPERNICUS'S WORK *DE REVOLUTIONIBUS*
FORUM/ALBUM

"THE MONEYCHANGER AND HIS WIFE," 1539 OIL PAINTING BY MARINUS VAN REYMERSWAELE, PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID

ALBUM

# ECONOMIST AND ASTRONOMER

As Copernicus wrestled with his scientific ideas, his duties as a church administrator led him to develop an important theory of economics. In the 1520s, war between the Teutonic knightly order and Poland affected Frombork and Warmia. Political instability had led to gold and silver being reduced in the coinage, which in turn led to dramatic inflation. In 1528 Copernicus published an influential treatise warning on how debasing coins would lead to the disappearance of high-value, "good" coins from circulation, with baleful economic effects. The phenomenon was also described by the English banker Thomas Gresham, and the Gresham-Copernicus law (as it is now known) is often summarized as "Bad money drives out good."

other research, Copernicus calculated the time each planet took to go around the sun: Mercury (88 days), Venus (225 days), Earth (one year), Mars (1.9 years), Jupiter (12 years), and Saturn (30 years). This pamphlet was the first milestone in Copernicus's journey to redefine the universe.

## Gaining Ground

The *Commentariolus*'s early findings raised questions and exposed problems with the data. To avoid errors in his calculations and assumptions, Copernicus spent decades of his life finding the strongest evidence to support his epoch-shaking idea. The *Commentariolus* was only circulated among a few scholars and caused very little commotion.

In the meantime, Copernicus was busy with his duties with the church, whose very foundations were shaken by Martin Luther's dramatic challenge to papal authority in 1517. Throughout the 1520s he helped steer his diocese through the ensuing conflict, taking part in diplomatic missions and even proposing reforms to the monetary system.

Many years later, the *Commentariolus* came to the attention of German humanist Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter. In 1533 he gave a lecture in the Vatican gardens before Pope Clement VII and explained Copernicus's still unpublished theory. The church's interest in his work was genuine, and at this time did not see a sun-centered universe as threatening to orthodoxy.

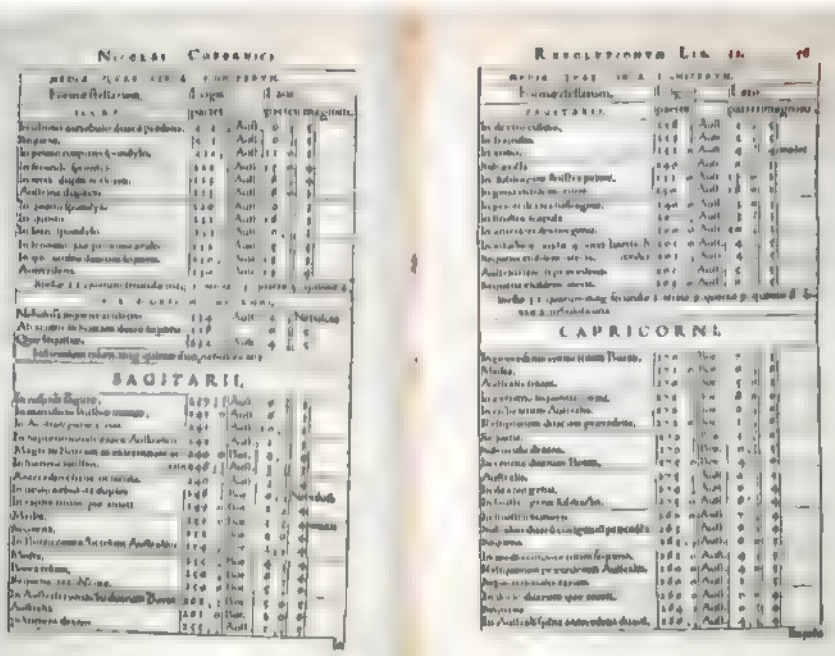
A young Austrian mathematics professor, Georg Joachim Rheticus, was instrumental in helping Copernicus push heliocentrism out to the wider world. In 1539 Rheticus moved to Frombork to work alongside the astronomer for two years and became Copernicus's devoted disciple.

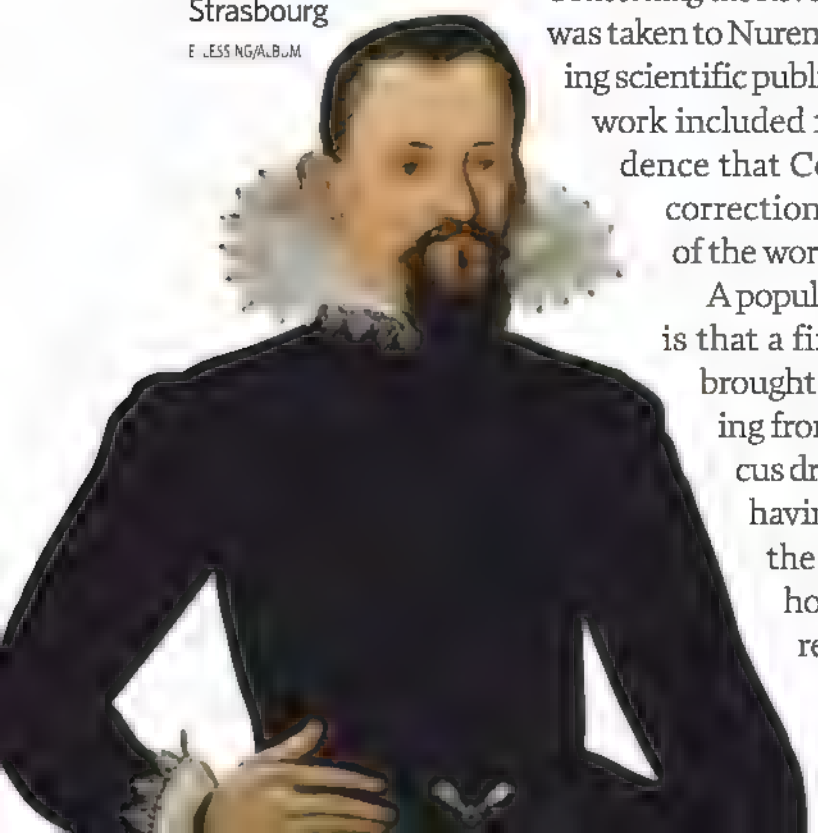
After much persuasion, Rheticus finally managed to convince Copernicus to let him publish an account of

### CHARTING THE HEAVENS

Book II (below) of Copernicus's work *Six Books Concerning the Revolutions of the Heavenly Orbs (De revolutionibus)* features astronomical data tables he constructed over his lifetime.

SOCIETY PICTURE LIBRARY/GETTY IMAGES





**WAITING IN THE WINGS**
Johannes Kepler (below) built on Copernicus's work to prove that bodies move in elliptical orbits. 1627 painting. Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg

E. LESSING/ALBUM

his theory in 1540. The treatise, called *The First Account of the Book on the Revolutions by Nicolaus Copernicus*, piqued the interest of astronomers all over Europe. They would not have to wait long for a full accounting of Copernicus's astronomical work.

Two years later, the manuscript of *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium libri VI (Six Books Concerning the Revolutions of the Heavenly Orbs)*, was taken to Nuremberg to be printed by a leading scientific publisher. The lavishly illustrated work included 142 woodcuts. There is evidence that Copernicus made numerous corrections and edits to the first part of the work.

A popular story (perhaps apocryphal) is that a first edition of the book was brought to his deathbed as he lay dying from a stroke in 1543. Copernicus drew his last breath on May 24, having completed his work. Now the rest of the world would see how this humble cleric would reorganize the heavens.

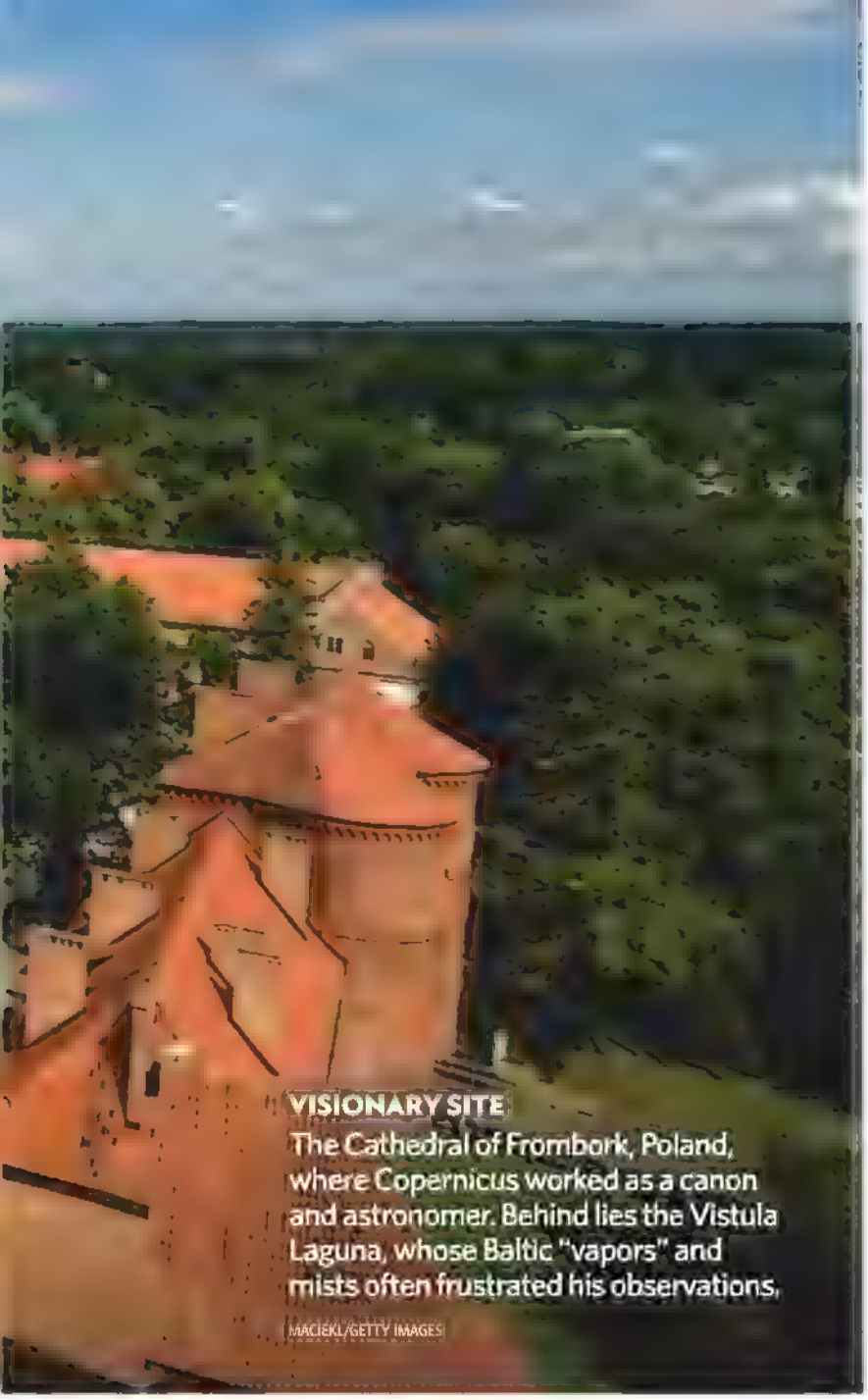
## Moving Heaven and Earth

*De revolutionibus* expands the fundamental ideas put forth in *Commentariolus*. It declares that the Earth orbits the sun in the course of a year, turns around its own axis in the course of a day, and annually tilts on its axis. His sequencing of the planets from the sun—placing the Earth third in line—was to become the accepted order. In his introduction, addressed to Pope Paul III, he explains why he took so long to publish his work:

> *[T]he scorn which I had reason to fear on account of the novelty and unconventionality of my opinion almost induced me to abandon completely the work which I had undertaken.*

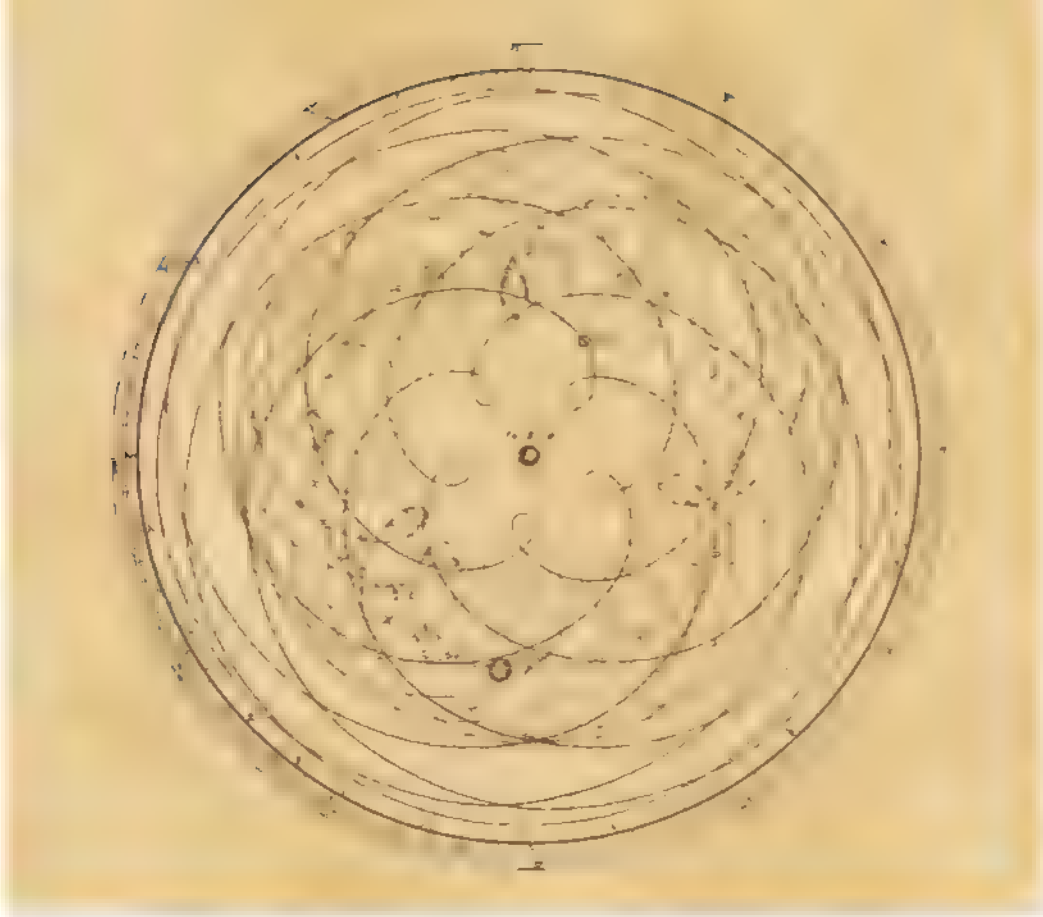
His friends were able to convince him otherwise:

> *As crazy as my doctrine of the earth's motion now appeared to most people, the argument ran, so much the more admiration and thanks would it gain after they saw the publication of my writings dispel the fog of absurdity by most luminous proofs.*



**VISIONARY SITE**
The Cathedral of Frombork, Poland, where Copernicus worked as a canon and astronomer. Behind lies the Vistula Laguna, whose Baltic "vapors" and mists often frustrated his observations.

MACIEKJ/GETTY IMAGES



ROYAL ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY/SPL./AGE FOTOSTOCK

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

**COPERNICUS** could not let go of an idea enshrined in 350 B.C. by Aristotle in *On the Heavens:* "The circle is a perfect thing." Only by mounting certain planets on turning wheels known as epicycles could 15th-century astronomers make circular orbits fit with actual planetary behavior. Drawn in 1756 by Scottish astronomer James Ferguson, a diagram (above) of the patterns produced by epicycles reveals how complex their motions would be.

In other ways, however, Copernicus did not break new ground. Solar centrality was not a new idea, as he acknowledged: "I first found in Cicero that Hicetas [a Greek philosopher from the fourth century B.C.] supposed the earth to move."

Copernicus also got some things wrong. He held on to the idea that orbits were perfectly circular, which was later disproved by Johannes Kepler, who demonstrated that orbits are elliptical. In order to reconcile circular orbits with actual planetary behavior, Copernicus continued the tradition, developed by Ptolemy, of arguing that planets spin on wheels, known as epicycles.

Upon its publication, the Catholic Church was not hostile to *De revolutionibus.* Copernicus had made no attempt to challenge papal authority in his writings, and his dedication goes to great lengths to establish his respect for the pope. By the 1560s several universities, including the University of Salamanca in Spain, a deeply orthodox Catholic institution, had *De revolutionibus* on the curriculum.

This tolerant attitude would shift by the early 1600s, when Galileo Galilei was using the newly invented telescope to scan the skies. Even as he was becoming increasingly convinced that Copernicus was correct, Galileo was warned by the church in 1616 not to "hold or defend" the Copernican theory. The same year, Copernicus's *De revolutionibus* was placed on the church's Index of Forbidden Books.

Science continued moving forward even as Galileo was being silenced. Kepler was working on his laws of planetary motion, and in time, the Copernican model would become universally accepted. Some historians even date the beginnings of the scientific revolution to 1543 and the publication of *De revolutionibus*. As the 21st-century American science writer Dava Sobel put it: "Thanks to Copernicus, the Sun doesn't set. The Earth turns."

ERNEST KOWALCZYK IS A SENIOR MEMBER OF THE POLISH CULTURAL INSTITUTE IN MADRID.

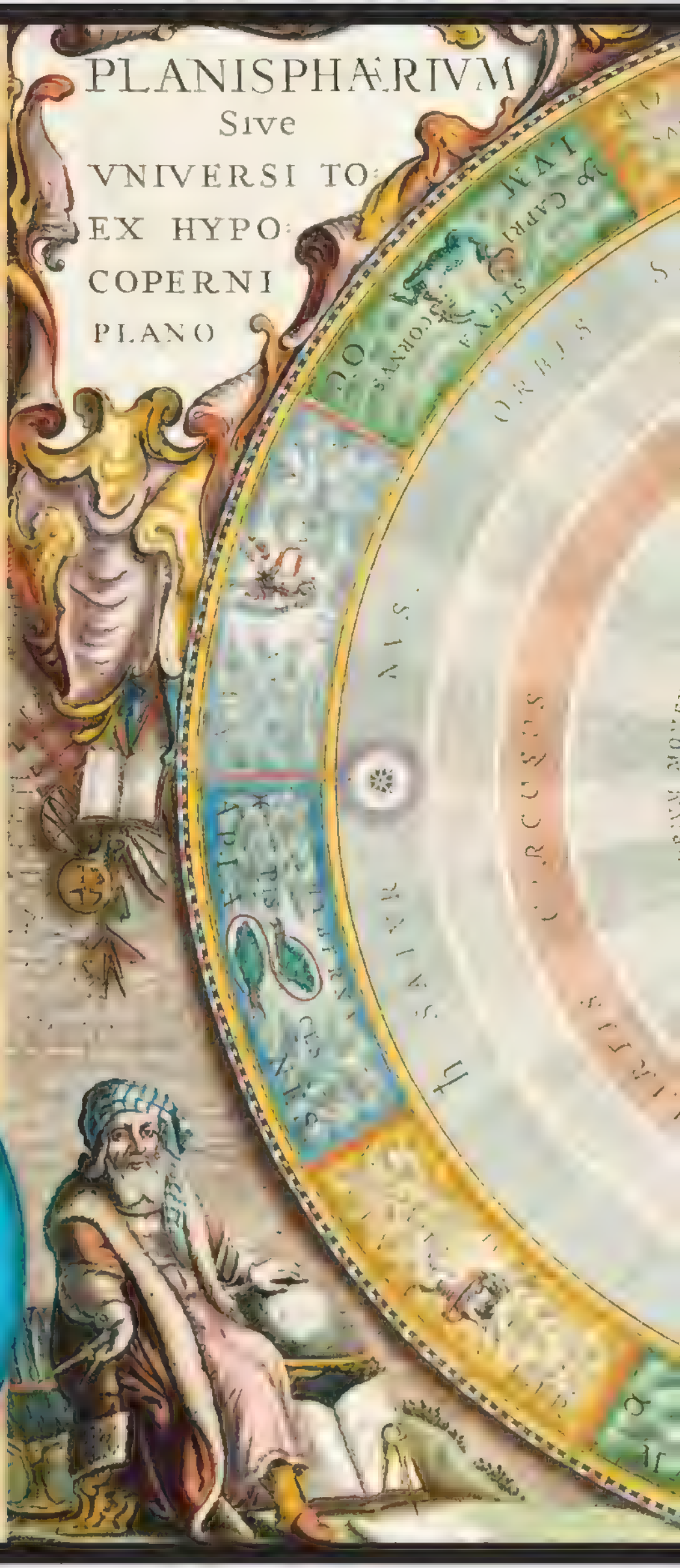
*Learn more*

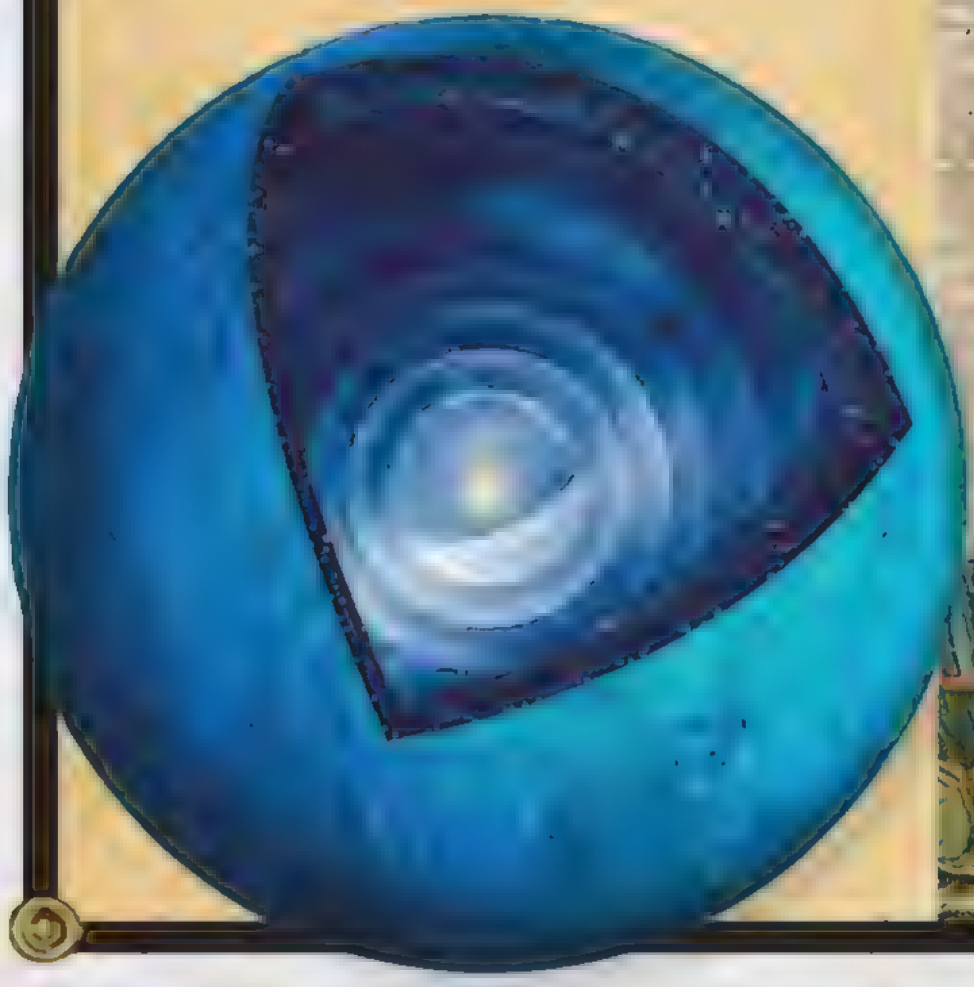
***A More Perfect Heaven: How Copernicus Revolutionized the Cosmos***
Dava Sobel, Bloomsbury USA, 2011.

# CENTERED ON THE SUN

Published in 1543, Copernicus's life's work preserves a key tenet of medieval cosmology: The universe is formed of spheres, each one nested within another. Starting with this underlying assumption, Copernicus constructed his theories based not only on mathematics but also on philosophy. Even heliocentricity was influenced by the belief that a central fire animated the whole universe, which was formulated by a follower of the sixth-century B.C. philosopher Pythagoras. The primacy of the sun and its centrality to classical thought is eloquently invoked by Copernicus. In Book I of his great work, he wrote: "Then in the middle of all stands the Sun. For who, in our most beautiful temple, could set this light in a better place than that from which it can illuminate the whole? Not unfittingly do some call it the light of the world, others the soul. Tremigistus calls it the visible God; Sophocles' Electra, the All-seer. And in fact does the sun, seated on his royal throne, guide his family of planets as they circle round him."

**SITTING AT THE CENTER,** THE SUN ILLUMINATES EIGHT CELESTIAL SPHERES IN COPERNICUS'S MODEL OF THE UNIVERSE.



**THE COPERNICAN MODEL** DEPICTED IN *HARMONIA MACROCOSMICA*, A STAR ATLAS BY ANDREAS CELLARIUS, 1660

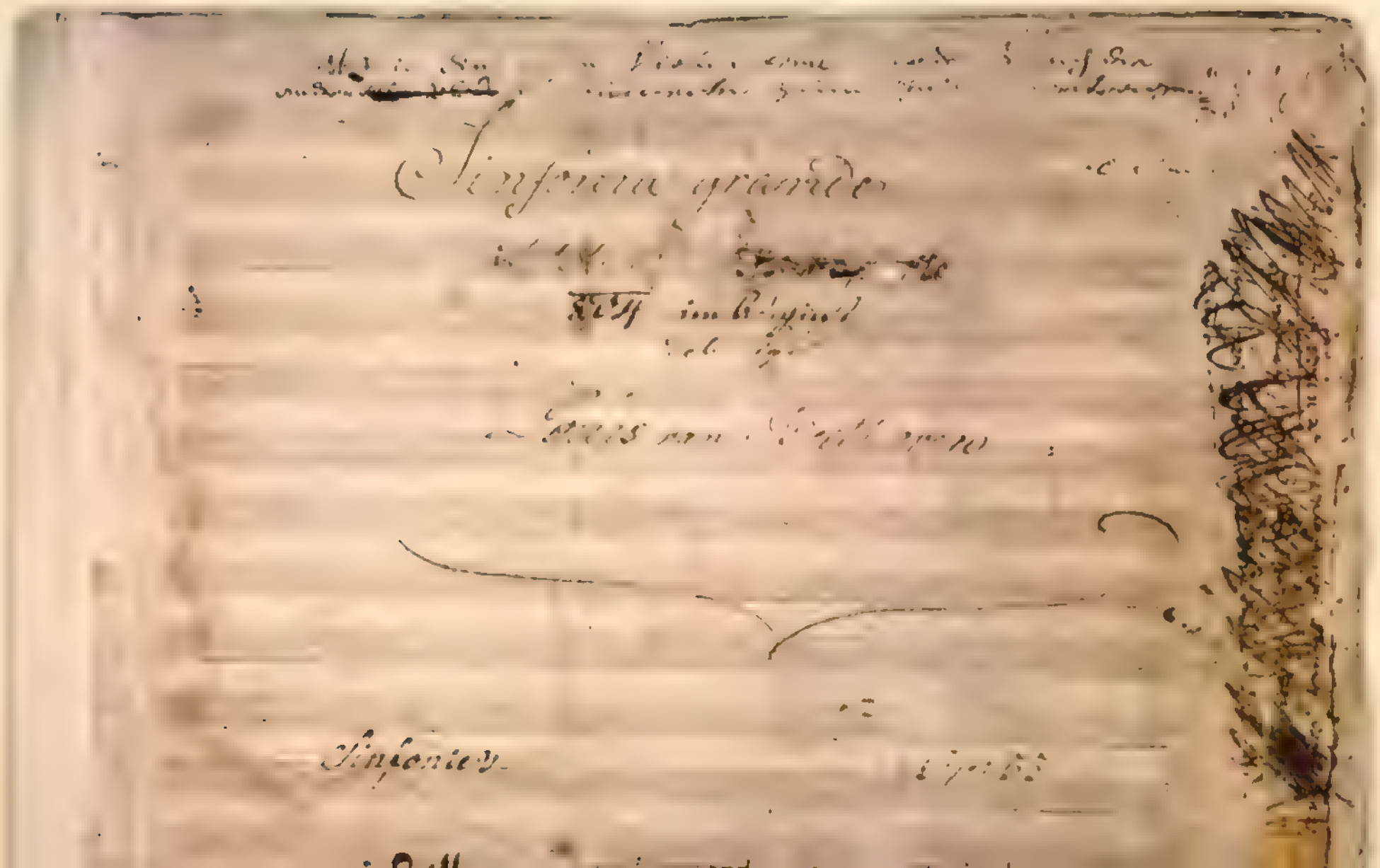
**LEFT TO RIGHT·** G. DUPRAT/CIE. ET ESPACE PHOTOS/CONTACTO PHOTO; VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

*Beethoven's Third Symphony*

# THE COMPOSER AND THE CONQUEROR

Not only did Napoleon Bonaparte leave his mark all over the map of Europe, his presence is palpable in the world of music and the works of Ludwig van Beethoven.

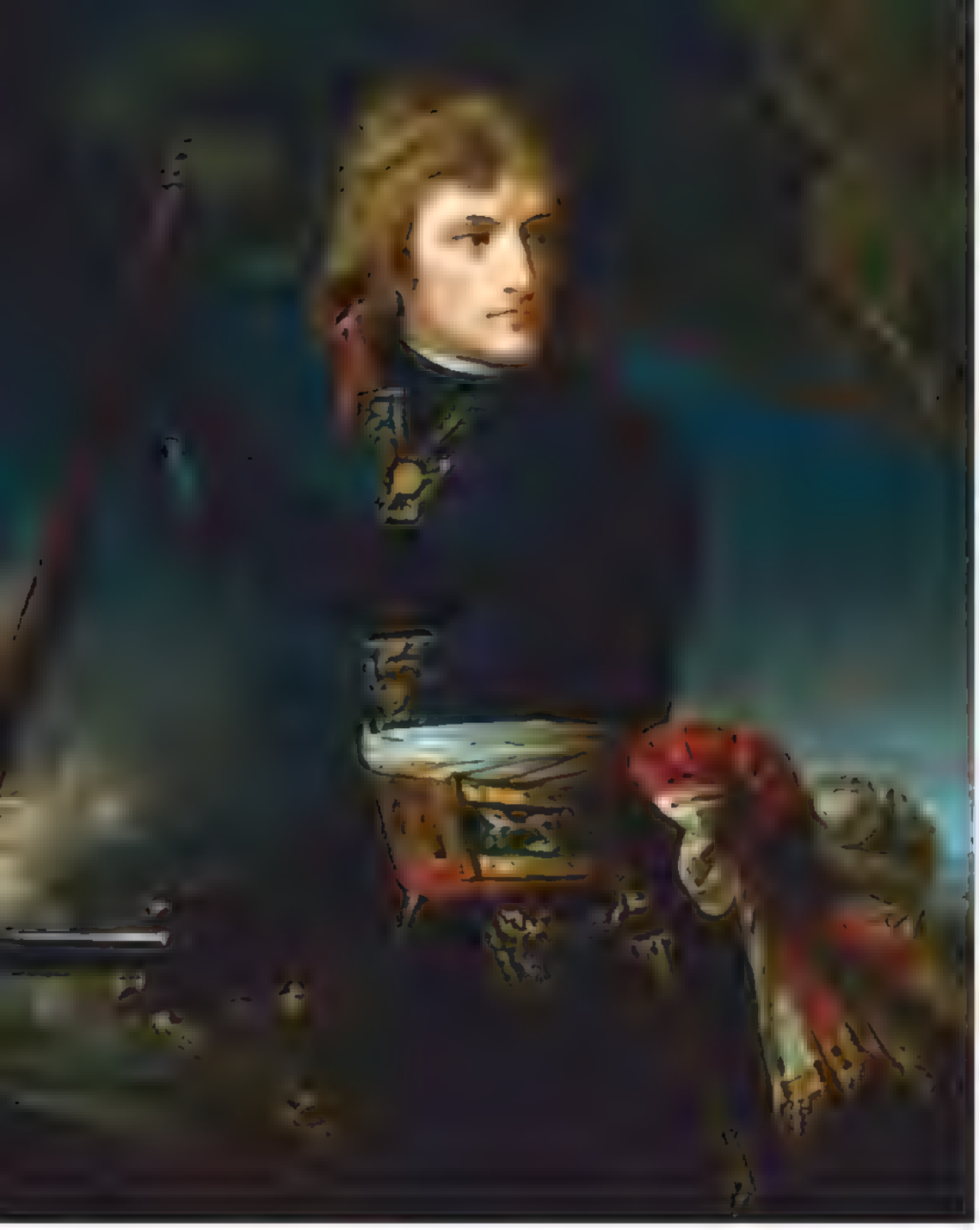
STEFANO RUSSOMANNO



**INSPIRED AND ENRAGED**

Now on display at the Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, Germany, Joseph Karl Stieler's 1819-1820 portrait depicts the composer at work. Slashes of ink and torn paper mark the spot on the Third Symphony's original score (left) where Bonaparte's name was violently removed.

**PORTRAIT:** BRIDGEMAN/AG. **SCORE:** GRANGER/AURIMAGES



**HEROIC POSE**
Antoine-Jean Gros's painting (above) depicts the 27-year-old Napoleon on the bridge at Arcole, Italy, where he dealt a severe defeat to the Austrians in 1796.
DANIEL STEINER/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

Two giants who shook the foundations of 18th- and 19th-century Europe, Ludwig van Beethoven and Napoleon Bonaparte were born just one year apart—Beethoven in Bonn, near Cologne (now Germany) in 1770 and Bonaparte in Ajaccio, Corsica, in 1769. These two men radically transformed their respective fields, leaving behind legacies that all of their followers were forced to acknowledge while attempting to transcend.

Napoleon's military prowess after the French Revolution led to a quick rise to power. Victory after victory burnished the young man's reputation, bringing him acclaim all over Europe as a triumph over the old ways.

Beethoven's innovative compositions took music to new heights. His symphonies told entire stories without words, unfurling emotions and painting pictures that immersed listeners like nothing before it. Beethoven dominated the musical world the same way Napoleon reigned over the military and political spheres. These two men never met, but a shared critical moment in the early 19th century revealed a stark contrast between these two icons.

## Bonn Beginnings

Ludwig van Beethoven was born to a middle-class family. As a young man, he was forced to support his mother and siblings due to his father Johann's alcoholism. Although he was never regarded as a prodigy as the young Mozart before him, or Mendelssohn after him (who wrote five operas while still a child), Beethoven's talent was impressive. At the age of 14, he was employed as second organist at the court of the regional ruler, the Archbishop-Elector of Cologne, assisting Christian Gottlob Neefe, the principal court organist and Beethoven's music teacher. In his piano and composition lessons, Neefe awoke in his student a deep love for the music of Johann Sebastian Bach and a voracious appetite for reading.

Three years later, the Archbishop-Elector of Cologne, Maximilian Franz, decided to promote the young musician. Bonn-Cologne was, at this time, a state within the Holy Roman Empire, ruled by Maximilian's brother, Joseph II. The elector decided the 17 year old would go to Vienna, imperial capital and European center of classical music. There in 1787, Beethoven was received by none other than Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. There is a story, (regarded by some historians as apocryphal) that, on hearing him play, Mozart said to his wife, "Watch out for that boy. One day he will give the

## HERALDS OF A NEW AGE

**1789**
When the Bastille is stormed in July, Napoleon, age 19, is a French army officer, and Beethoven, 18, a musician in Bonn.

**1792**
Beethoven moves to Vienna, which he will call home for the rest of his life. He studies briefly with Joseph Haydn and works for the rich and powerful.

**LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN** BY GUSTAV LANDGREBE, CIRCA 1890. SAMMLUNG ARCHIV FÜR KUNST UND GESCHICHTE, BERLIN. AKG/ALBUM

**BONN'S MOST FAMOUS SON**

The Münsterplatz in Bonn, Germany, is the site for the city's monument to Beethoven. Bonn's new university, where the young composer briefly enrolled, was fertile ground for Enlightenment ideas about democracy and equality.

STEFAN ZIESE/AGE FOTOSTOCK

**1798**

Beethoven begins to lose his hearing. In Egypt Napoleon is victorious on land at the Battle of the Pyramids but defeated at sea by Nelson.

**1802**

Beethoven begins working on the Third Symphony. He dedicates it to Napoleon, who appoints himself consul for life in August.

**1804**

Napoleon crowns himself emperor. Disgusted by the news, Beethoven strikes his name from the Third Symphony.

**1805**

The Third Symphony is premiered in Vienna. Despite an initial, tepid response, it will be hailed as a seminal moment in musical history.

# THE HANDS OF HAYDN

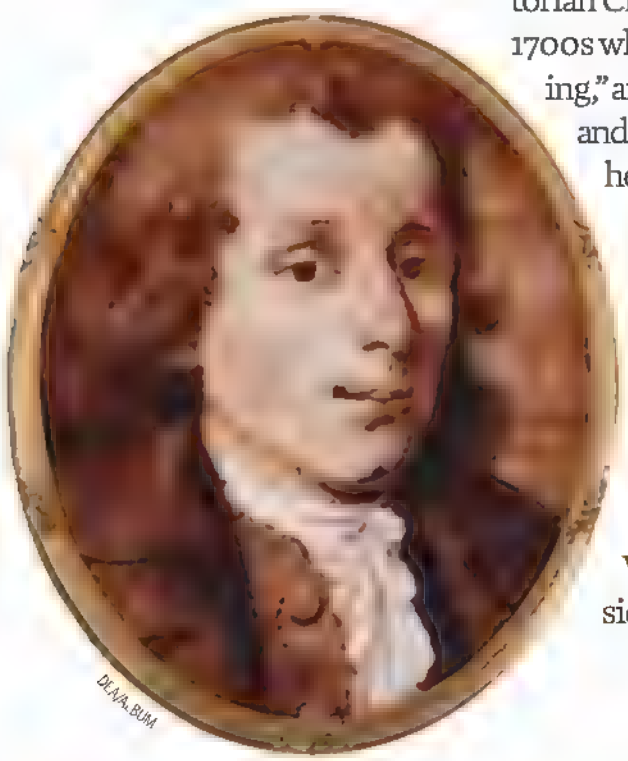
As a young performer in Bonn, Beethoven was steeped in the music of Joseph Haydn. The Bonn elector library held more than 100 scores by the Austrian. When Beethoven met Haydn in 1790, it must have felt like a brush with greatness. As Beethoven prepared to move to Vienna, his patron, Count Waldstein, assured him that "[there] you will receive the spirit of Mozart from the hands of Haydn." After his arrival in Vienna, the young German composer took lessons with the maestro. According to some accounts, Beethoven chafed at Haydn's rigorous tasks, and secretly took classes from other teachers. Even so, his influence was considerable. The elder composer taught him the expressive possibilities of the string quartet, a genre that Beethoven later took in a direction that baffled his contemporaries, and only became widely appreciated in the 20th century.

**JOSEPH HAYDN** IN A 1791 PORTRAIT BY ENGLISH PAINTER THOMAS HARDY. ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC, LONDON

ALBUM

**FIRST TEACHER**

Christian Gottlob Neefe (below) was court composer of the Archbishop-Elector of Cologne, and Ludwig van Beethoven's first teacher. Beethoven-Haus, Bonn



DEA/A. BUBA

world something to talk about." Beethoven had hoped to study with Mozart, but his trip was cut short when Beethoven's mother fell seriously ill, and he had to return home.

At this time, Mozart and fellow Austrian Joseph Haydn were the twin suns of the musical firmament. Their music was the standard to aspire to, yet it would also come to represent what had to be transcended. The influential English music historian Charles Burney spoke for many in the late 1700s when he wrote of music as the "art of pleasing," and its highest aim to transmit sweetness and refinement. Beethoven's work would later help overturn this aesthetic standard.

Because his family relied on him for financial support, the teenaged Beethoven worked as a music teacher. His pupils were often the children of the nobility, including the cultured von Breuning family. Expanding Beethoven's social networks, the von Breunings introduced him to a family friend, the Count of Waldstein, a Viennese aristocrat and music lover. Impressed by Beethoven's talent, the count later commissioned several works from the composer.

The relationship with the count epitomizes the compromise musicians had to make between their ideals and their pocketbooks. In practical terms, composers needed the support of aristocratic patrons to fund the creation of their music, even if they espoused democratic values.

In 1790 Beethoven met Joseph Haydn, who was so impressed with the young musician that he offered to take him on as a pupil in Vienna. Two years later, Beethoven moved there, but he only studied a short time with Haydn. In Vienna excellent social connections with wealthy families enabled him to earn a good living. One of the most important of these was the music lover Prince Joseph Franz Maximilian von Lobkowitz.

## Dawn of Revolution

Beethoven was 18 in the summer of 1789 when astonishing news reached Bonn: The storming of the Bastille prison in Paris on July 14 had ushered in a new order based on revolutionary principles of individual liberty and rights.

**ON A PEDESTAL**
In 1805 Napoleon defeated Austria at Austerlitz. Inspired by Trajan's Column in Rome, he ordered this column to be built in Place Vendôme, Paris, adorned with scenes of his military triumphs and topped by a statue of himself as emperor in Roman attire. The current statue is a copy of the original.

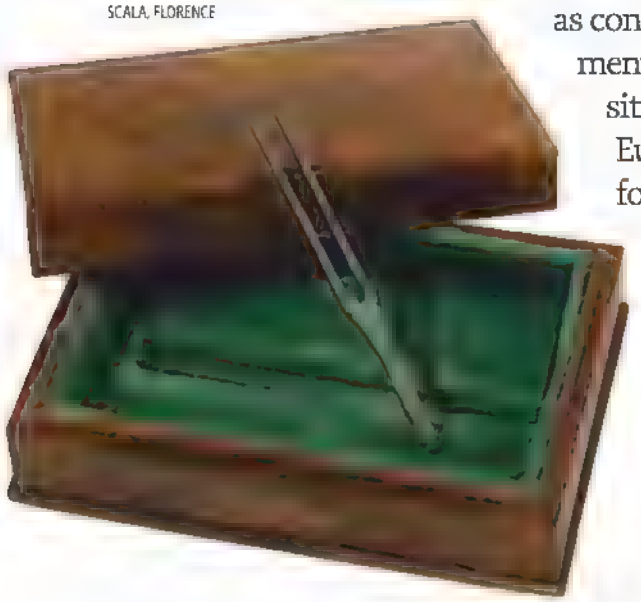
NIKONAFT/GETTY IMAGES

THE LOBKOWITZ PALACE IN VIENNA SERVED AS A CONCERT VENUE AND WAS OWNED BY PRINCE LOBKOWITZ, PATRON OF BEETHOVEN AND DEDICATEE OF THE THIRD SYMPHONY

ALAMY/ACI

**TUNING IN**
The tuning fork below was used by Beethoven, who gave it to a violinist. Since then, it has had several owners, including the English composer Ralph Vaughan Williams, whose widow gave it to the British Library in 1992.

SCALA, FLORENCE



The impact of the French Revolution on the German people was deep and inspirational. German nationalist historian Ernst Moritz Arndt, later a savage critic of the revolution, acknowledged its impact: "It has planted into heads and hearts essential ideas for the foundation of the future, which only 20 or 30 years ago most people would have been afraid to conceive."

At first, enthusiasm extended even to the imperial rulers. Early in the revolution, both Joseph II and Maximilian Franz saw events in France as confirming the ideals of the Enlightenment. At Bonn's recently founded university (where Beethoven briefly enrolled), Eulogius Schneider, a fiery lecturer, and former monk, praised the storming of the Bastille in a poem. The work was published in a Jacobin journal which counted Beethoven as one of its subscribers. Even if he never became a full-blown radical, Beethoven was exposed to the general sympathy and excitement stoked by events in France.

It was a time of phenomenal political upheaval that intrigued Beethoven generally, and touched him personally. During his first full year in Vienna in 1793, news broke of the executions of French king Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette, aunt to the Holy Roman emperor Francis II. A year later, the French occupied Beethoven's home town, Bonn.

Beethoven began to note the campaigns of the young, anti-monarchist general, Napoleon Bonaparte—first in Italy (1796-97), then in Egypt and Palestine (1798-99). Despite his uneven military record in Egypt, Napoleon returned to France a hero, and was proclaimed first consul of the French Republic. In 1800 his defeat of the Austrian army at Marengo forced Austria into making major concessions to France. Napoleon was at the center of a new age being born in Europe, and Beethoven was impressed by this bright new light.

## A Hopeless Affliction

In his early years in Vienna Beethoven was known as a brilliant piano virtuoso, whose compositions attracted a great deal of attention. In 1798, however, he was dealt a bitter blow when he began to lose his hearing, No single cause has been attributed to his deafness, but the loss caused Beethoven great anguish.

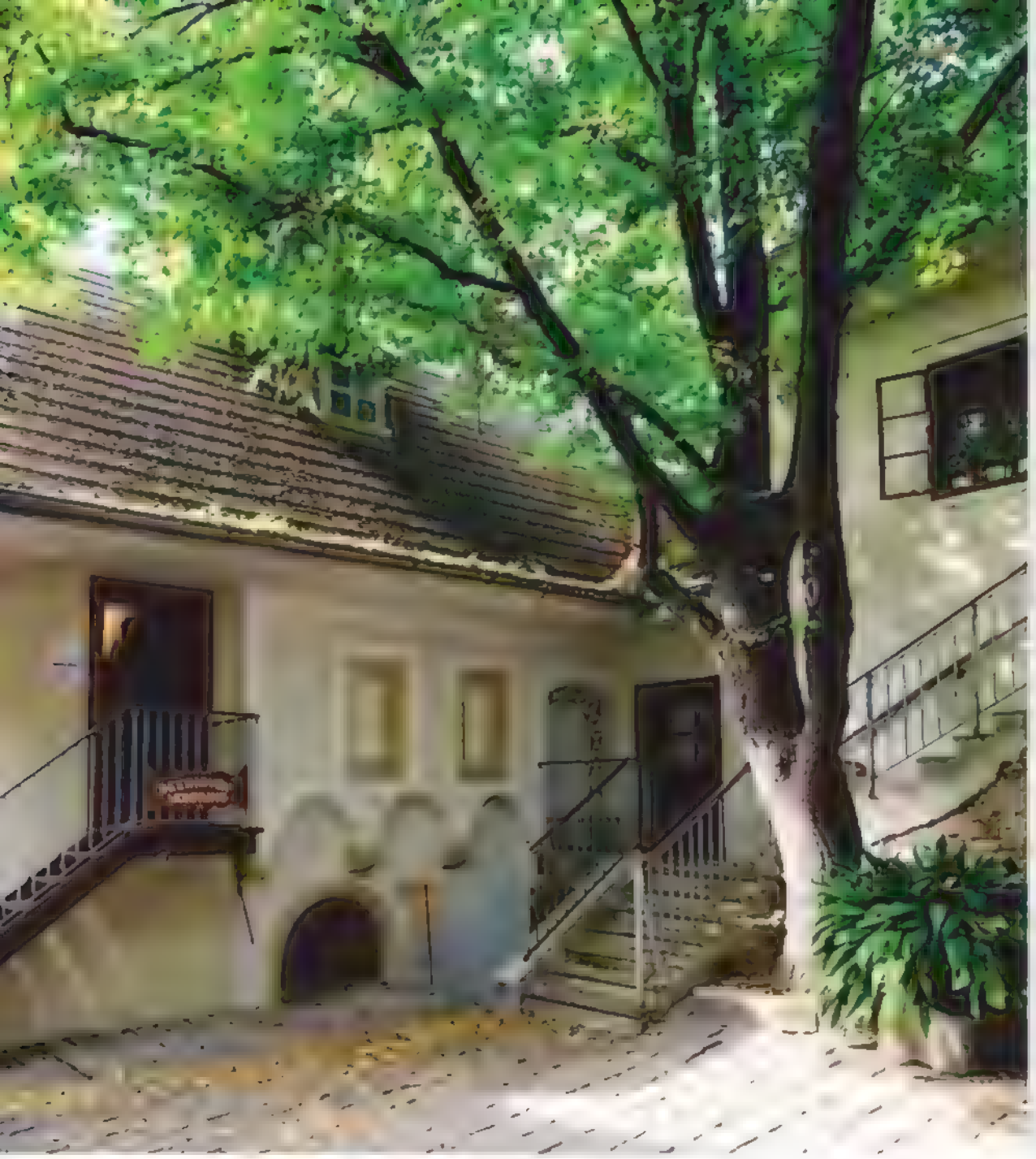
In 1802 his physician sent the composer to spend the summer in the nearby village of Heiligenstädt. He attempted to come to terms with his condition and wrote a letter to his two brothers about the malady that had left him "hopelessly afflicted." Known as the Heiligenstädt Testament, it was never sent, and found only after his death.

The testament coincides with the beginning of what is sometimes termed his heroic phase. His music became more emotionally raw, traits that would erupt triumphantly in his Third Symphony. This great work, opus 55, is noted not only for its length (it was much longer than any other symphony of the time) but also its range. It expresses ideas across a wide canvas, embracing Beethoven's personal misfortune, experimentation in musical ideas, and his experience of the tumult of war.

Fired with zeal by the ideas of liberty and equality that he considered embodied in Napoleon, Beethoven decided to dedicate his Third Symphony to the French commander. Beethoven was sketching out preliminary plans for the symphony and carefully weighing his opinions of Napoleon.

**CLASSIC COMPOSITION**
This 1804 portrait of Beethoven by J. W. Mähler depicts the composer holding a lyre, symbol of the god Apollo. Classical symbols such as these usually accompanied portraits of statesmen rather than composers. Their inclusion here marks Beethoven's association with the heroic.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI



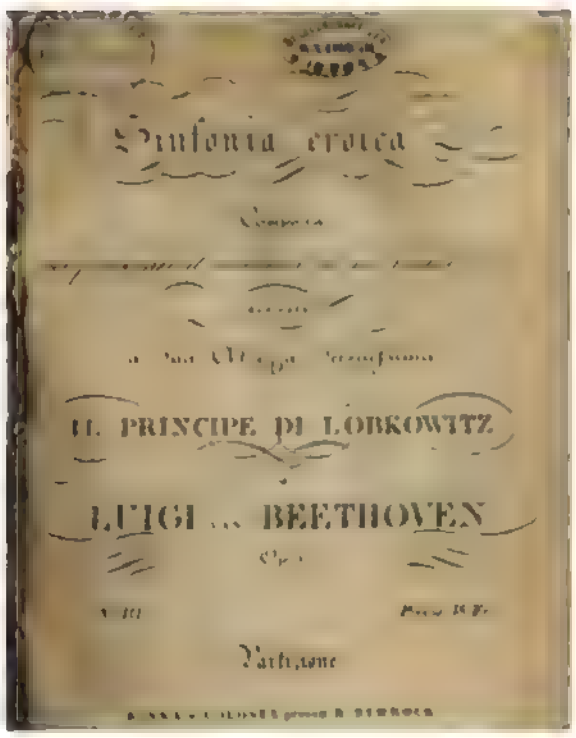
## STAGES OF GRIEF

Beethoven spent the summer of 1802 in the village of Heiligenstädt. In an unsent letter to his brothers, he expressed in harrowing detail the impact of his growing deafness as a composer: "Ah, how could I admit an infirmity in the one sense which ought to be more perfect in me than others." The Heiligenstädt Testament, as it is now known, is written in a tone of acceptance: "With joy I hasten towards death—If it comes before I have had the chance to develop all my artistic capacities, it will still be coming too soon despite my harsh fate." On other occasions, however, Beethoven took a more positive attitude. A year before, broaching the topic of his deafness in a letter to a friend, he wrote: "I will seize fate by the throat; it shall not wholly overcome me. Oh, it is so beautiful to live—to live a thousand times!" The theme of the heroic struggle through grief would burst through in all its power in his Third Symphony.

**THE COURTYARD** OF THE HOUSE IN HEILIGENSTÄDT NEAR VIENNA WHERE BEETHOVEN STROVE TO COME TO TERMS WITH HIS DEAFNESS IN THE SUMMER OF 1802. ALAMY/AC

**SINFONIA *EROICA***

The florid frontispiece (below) of the score of the Third Symphony is emblazoned with the new dedication to Prince Lobkowitz. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna




DEA/ALBUM

Then, in spring 1804, as he was finishing the symphony, news came to Vienna that Napoleon had declared himself emperor of France. Beethoven's response, according to his protégé Ferdinand Ries, was a furious diatribe against his former hero: "Now he, too, will tread underfoot all the rights of man [to] indulge only his ambition; now he will think himself superior to all men [and] become a tyrant!" A page in the preserved score shows where the word Bonaparte has been heavily struck through with a pen.

The composer's decision to remove Napoleon's name remained a private one. He did not speak out publicly against the French emperor, but instead made a practical decision to dedicate the Third Symphony to Prince Lobkowitz, one of his first patrons in Vienna.

On the score's publication in 1806, a year after its premiere, the Third Symphony was entitled Sinfonia *Eroica* (*Heroic* Symphony), with the subtitle: "Composed to celebrate the memory of a great man." For all that Napoleon's name had been erased, the masterwork is nevertheless haunted by him. The passionate strains of the symphony encapsulate the turmoil of the Napoleonic age that had inspired Beethoven's music, and shaped his life.

### A Hero's Reception

The Third Symphony premiered in April 1805, in Vienna's Theater an der Wien, under the baton of Beethoven himself. Loyal critics proclaimed it a triumph—from its opening stately melody on the cellos, the searing funeral march, the frenetic, disorienting scherzo, through to the final reiteration of the heroic theme on the brass.

The wider response was muted: It left the audience, and many critics, bewildered. Far from creating a pleasing sound, the composer had created disturbing dissonances, which contribute to the sense of a titanic struggle in which hope overcomes despair. Although its first audience had never heard anything quite like it, today it is an essential part of the repertoire of the world's

**THEATER LIFE**

The Theater an der Wien in Vienna was the scene of the premiere of several of Beethoven's works, including that of the Third Symphony in April 1805. For the two previous years, Beethoven had lived in an apartment within the theater complex.

ALAMY/ACI

# TO THE VICTORS

Beethoven was not the only composer deeply affected by Napoleon. Following the general's march on Vienna in 1797, Joseph Haydn wrote his *Missa in Angustiis (Mass for Troubled Times)*. At its 1798 premiere, news of the victory of British admiral Horatio Nelson over Napoleon at the Battle of the Nile was filtering back to Europe. Haydn admired Nelson, and in time the piece became known as the *Nelson Mass*. By 1813, when Napoleon's star had waned, Beethoven also decided to honor a British hero. Declaring his allegiance to Napoleon's nemesis, he wrote his 15-minute *Battle* Symphony commemorating the victory of Arthur Wellesley (the future first Duke of Wellington) over the French at the Battle of Vitoria in 1813. The *Battle* Symphony was popular in its time but is now regarded as a minor work. Napoleon would have the satisfaction that the groundbreaking Third Symphony would always be linked to his legacy.

**THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON** N SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE'S PORTRAIT OF 1815-16. HE RECEIVED THE TITLE OF DUKE IN 1814 FOR HIS VICTORIES AGAINST NAPOLEON IN SPAIN.

LEBRECHT MUSIC/ALBUM

great orchestras. Most musicologists agree it marks a major turning point. According to the British music writer Tom Service, it "doesn't just stand for Napoleon, or Beethoven, but for the possibilities of the symphony itself, which is revealed as a carrier of new weight and meaning as never before in its history."

**THE KEYS TO GENIUS**

Beethoven discarded one piano after another in his quest to find the perfect one. The instrument (below) was given to him by French piano maker Sébastien Érard in 1803.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

## Ode to Freedom

Even though Beethoven had been disgusted by Napoleon in 1804, he did not completely reject him until several years later. As the Napoleonic Wars raged across Europe, the French consul had become a conqueror, hungry for more lands. Napoleon once again attacked Austria in 1809 and even shelled Vienna, an event which Beethoven experienced firsthand. By the time of the French ruler's defeat in Spain in 1813, Beethoven's enthusiasm had waned so much that he wrote a piece in honor of Napoleon's nemesis, the future Duke of Wellington, who defeated the French at the Battle of Vitoria in 1813 and ended Napoleon's career at Waterloo two years later.

In the past musical historians linked Napoleon's defeat and an end of Beethoven's heroic style. French essayist Romain Rolland wrote in the early 1900s: "When the man of Waterloo has fallen, Beethoven, emperor, also abdicates." Modern researchers, however, tend to see the composer in a less reductive light. His late style certainly evolved into something different from that of the Third Symphony, but his music and writings still contain democratic ideas, culminating in the celebration of freedom and fraternal love in the setting of the "Ode to Joy" in his Ninth Symphony. His legacy as a lover of freedom is undimmed: His music has often been played in struggles against authoritarianism, such as during the Tiananmen Square protests in China in 1989 and, later that year, in the celebration following the fall of the Berlin Wall.

MUSICOLOGIST STEFANO RUSSOMANNO IS A SPECIALIST IN BAROQUE CLASSICAL MUSIC, AND AUTHOR OF A BOOK ON MUSIC AND THE ITALIAN POET DANTE

**MUSICAL NATURE**
Fleeing the stress of Vienna and the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars, Beethoven regularly visited the nearby spa town of Baden bei Wien in 1807. There, he wandered the banks of the Schwechat River, immersing himself in the natural world.

RAINER MIRAU/AGE FOTOSTOCK

**THE FRENCH BOMBARDMENT** OF VIENNA, MAY 12, 1809, IN AN ANONYMOUS ENGRAVING. HEERESGESCHICHTLICHES MUSEUM, VIENNA

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

# VIENNA UNDER FIRE

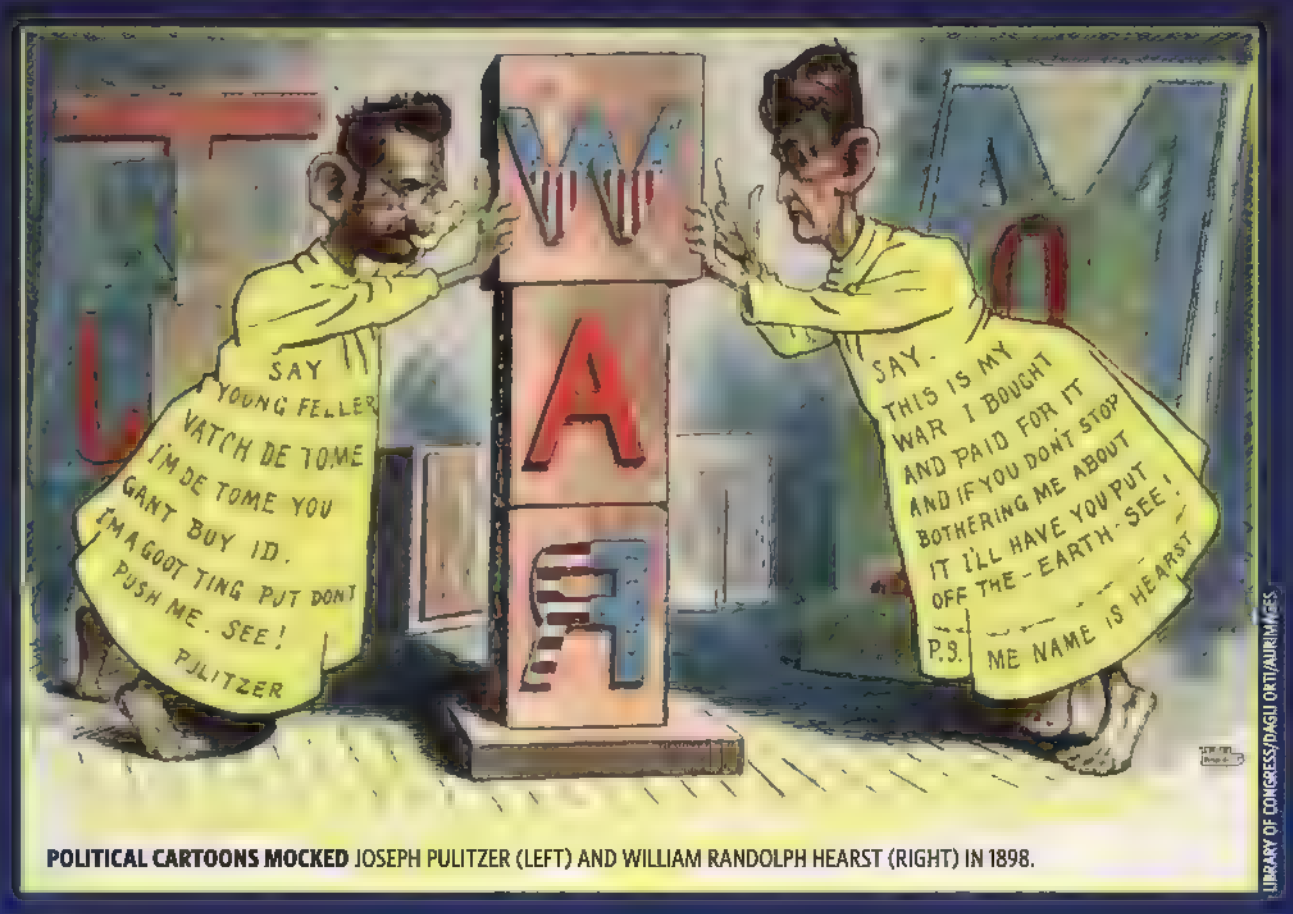
**By 1809** Napoleon dominated much of Europe and showed no signs of abating. He had neutralized Russia, subdued much of Germany, and controlled Holland, Spain, and Italy. In a bid to check his ambition and restore the balance of power, Austria and Britain united against the French emperor and formed the Fifth Coalition.

In response, Napoleon advanced on Vienna. The Austrian emperor and his court left the city, leaving Archduke Maximilian to defend the capital. When the archduke refused to surrender, French troops bombed the city, spreading panic among the population. The damage was minimal but enough to break the resistance, and on May 13 Vienna fell to the French, who occupied it for five months. Beethoven spent the night of the bombardment sheltering in the cellar of his brother Karl. He covered his ears with cushions to protect them (he would not become totally deaf until around 1816, when he was in his mid 40s). "What a life full of

upheavals around me! Nothing but drums, cannons, human misery of every kind," he wrote of the difficult months of occupation.

Even so, despite the hardships, when a French amateur musician, the Baron de Trémont, went to visit him at his house during the occupation, Beethoven received him warmly. In the course of several convivial encounters, they spoke of "philosophy, religion, and politics, and especially of Shakespeare his idol."

They also spoke of Napoleon. Trémont's record of their conversation confirms that the composer's view of the French commander was as complex and contradictory as ever: "Through all his resentment, I could see that he admired the Emperor and his rise from such obscure beginnings . . . Later, he asked me that should he go to Paris, would he be obliged to salute the emperor? . . . The question made me think that, despite his opinions, he would be flattered by any mark of distinction from Napoleon." ■




**POLITICAL CARTOONS MOCKED** JOSEPH PULITZER (LEFT) AND WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST (RIGHT) IN 1898.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS/DAGLI ORTI/AURIMAGES

## Spanish-American War

# WAR of the WORDS

As tensions over Cuba soared between America and Spain in the 1890s, so too did U.S. newspaper sales, fed by sensationalist reporting. The new media barons wanted a war, and the facts were not going to spoil a good story.

JOHN MAXWELL HAMILTON

OVER ONE MILLION TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND *EVERY* DAY.

THE CIRCULATION OF THE JOURNAL SATURDAY WAS 1,220,618 ALL FREE COPIES, EXCHANGES, SAMPLES AND WASTE DEDUCTED.

NIGHT SPECIAL. AN AMERICAN PAPER FOR AMERICANS. NEW YORK JOURNAL

WAR EXTRA

NO. 3,639—P. M. NEW YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 25, 1898. PRICE ONE CENT.

# CONGRESS DECLARES WAR

**ASSERTS HOSTILITIES BEGAN ON APRIL 21.**

Washington, April 25.—Both houses of Congress this afternoon, at the request of President McKinley, passed the following bill, declaring that war existed between Spain and the United States since April 21, the date on which Minister Woodford was dismissed by the Spanish Government:

"A bill declaring that war exists between the United States of America and the kingdom of Spain.

"Be It Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

"First. That war be, and the same is hereby declared to exist, and that war has existed since the twenty-first day of April, A. D., 1898, including said day, between the United States of America and the kingdom of Spain.

"Second.—That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry this act into effect."

The bill was at once sent to President McKinley.

It was passed by the House early in the afternoon, as the reply to a message from President McKinley. The Senate debated it for a couple of hours in executive session.

Many Senators urged that the date when the war began be not mentioned in the bill.

Mr. Turpie also advocated an amendment to recognizing the independence of the Republic of Cuba, but it was defeated.

### PRESIDENT ASKS FOR DECLARATION OF WAR.

President McKinley sent to Congress at noon to-day a message requesting that both Houses make formal declaration of the existence of a state of war.

The message was accompanied by copies of the correspondence relating to the breaking off by Spain of all diplomatic negotiations and the proclamations by the President of a blockade and his call for troops.

Large and expectant crowds listened to the reading of the message in both Houses. The message was immediately referred by the lower House to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in the Senate to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Senator Allen, of Nebraska, introduced a resolution in the Senate at 12:20, declaring that a state of war exists between the United States and Spain. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, which went into session at once to consider the President's message.

In the House, Representative Adams, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, at 1:18, reported a bill in conformity with the President's message. It was put upon its passage within two minutes and passed without a dissenting voice. Applause followed the Speaker's announcement of the vote.

### TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The message is as follows:

"To the Senate and House of Representatives:

"I transmit to the Congress for its consideration and appropriate action copies of correspondence recently had with the representative of Spain in the United States, with the United States Minister at Madrid, and, through the latter, with the Government of Spain, showing the action taken under the joint resolution approved April 20, 1898.

"Upon communicating to the Spanish Minister in Washington the demand which it

Continued on Second Page.

## LEVY FOR TROOPS MADE ON THE STATES

### New York Called Upon for Twelve Regiments of Infantry and Two Troops of Cavalry.

Washington, April 25.—The War Department late this afternoon issued a call upon Governors of States for troops, as follows:

ALABAMA—Two regiments infantry and one battalion.
ARKANSAS—Two regiments infantry.
CALIFORNIA—Two regiments infantry, two battalions four heavy batteries.
CONNECTICUT—One colored infantry one light batteries, one heavy battery.
COLORADO—One regiment infantry, one battery.
DELAWARE—One regiment infantry.
FLORIDA—One regiment infantry.
GEORGIA—Two regiments infantry two light batteries.
ILLINOIS—Seven regiments infantry one troop cavalry.
INDIANA—Four regiments infantry two light batteries.
IOWA—Two regiments infantry two light batteries.
KANSAS—Three regiments infantry.
KENTUCKY—Three regiments infantry and one cavalry.
LOUISIANA—Two regiments infantry.
MARYLAND—One regiment infantry, one heavy battery.
MASSACHUSETTS—One regiment infantry four heavy batteries.
MICHIGAN—Four regiments infantry four heavy batteries.
MINNESOTA—Four regiments infantry.
MISSISSIPPI—Two regiments infantry.
MISSOURI—Five regiments infantry one light battery.
MONTANA—One regiment infantry.
NEBRASKA—Two regiments infantry.
NEW HAMPSHIRE—One regiment infantry.
NEW JERSEY—Three regiments infantry.
NEW YORK—Twelve regiments infantry two troops cavalry
NORTH CAROLINA—Two regiments infantry one heavy battery
OHIO—Six regiments infantry, four light batteries, two cavalry companies.
OREGON—One regiment infantry.
PENNSYLVANIA—Ten regiments infantry four heavy batteries.
RHODE ISLAND—One regiment infantry
SOUTH CAROLINA—One regiment infantry, one light battery, one heavy battery.
TENNESSEE—Three regiments infantry.
TEXAS—Three regiments infantry one cavalry.
VERMONT—One troop cavalry two light batteries.
VIRGINIA—One regiment infantry.
WASHINGTON—Three regiments infantry.
WEST VIRGINIA—One regiment infantry.
WISCONSIN—Three regiments infantry
WYOMING—One light battery, one troop cavalry.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—One battalion infantry.
SOUTH DAKOTA—Five troops cavalry.
NORTH DAKOTA—Four troops cavalry.
UTAH—Two troops cavalry.
NEVADA—One troop cavalry.
ARIZONA—Two troops cavalry.
NEW MEXICO—Four troops cavalry.
OKLAHOMA—One troop cavalry.

### PREFERENCE GIVEN TO MILITIA.

The telegram to the Governors, after mentioning the quota, says:

"It is the wish of the President that the regiments of the National Guard or State militia be used as far as their numbers will permit, for the reason that they are armed, equipped and drilled."

The Secretary also asks the Governors to telegraph at once what equipments, ammunition, arms, blankets, tents, etc., are on hand and what are needed; and also when the troops will be ready for muster into the United States service.

This will be followed by a letter of detail to be sent out to-morrow.

## EXTRA

### NO. 11

### LATEST NEWS

### ROOSEVELT AND HOBART

### SIGN WAR DECLARATION

WASHINGTON, APRIL 25.—THE BILL PASSED BY BOTH HOUSES THIS AFTERNOON DECLARING THAT WAR WITH SPAIN EXISTED SINCE APRIL 21 WAS SIGNED BY SPEAKER REED AT 4.50 P. M.

VICE-PRESIDENT HOBART SIGNED IT AT 4.55 P. M. AND IT WAS AT ONCE FORWARDED TO PRESIDENT MCKINLEY.

THE NEW YORK-WASHINGTON GAME POSTPONED—RAIN.

BROOKLYN-BALTIMORE GAME POSTPONED—WET GROUNDS.

### WINNERS AT AQUEDUCT.

[illegible]

**GIANT HEADLINES** TRUMPET THE U.S. DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST SPAIN ON THE FRONT PAGE OF WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST'S *NEW YORK JOURNAL* ON APRIL 25, 1898.

GRANGER/ALBUM

**THE 18TH-CENTURY** FORTRESS OF SAN CARLOS DE LA CABAÑA, DEPICTED HERE IN A COLORIZED POSTCARD FROM 1900, WAS BUILT BY THE SPANISH TO DEFEND THE MOUTH OF THE HARBOR OF HAVANA, CUBA, FROM INVADERS.
MARY EVANS/AGE FOTOSTOCK

It is arguably the most celebrated anecdote in the history of American journalism. Sometime in early 1897, as the story goes, artist-correspondent Frederic Remington found himself in Cuba working for the *New York Journal*. The famous painter of bucking broncos and other Wild West scenes was on assignment for the newspaper's owner, William Randolph Hearst, in anticipation of hostilities with Spain.

"There is no trouble here," the bored Remington informed Hearst by telegram. "There will be no war. I wish to return."

Hearst fired back, "Please remain. You furnish the pictures, and I'll furnish the war."

The story has been told and retold to show how the yellow press, of which Hearst was an exemplar, set the United States on the road to the Spanish-American War—a war in which Theodore Roosevelt charged up San Juan Hill (as reporters wrote it all down) and with that fame strode into the White House; a war that marked the beginning of the United States as a global power and an ending of the Spanish Empire, which lost remnant colonies. It was also a war that ushered in a new age for journalism, for as irresponsible as coverage was at times, it was a first step to the development of energetic foreign news coverage in the States.

But the story is false.

No such telegrams were ever found. Hearst never admitted to saying any such thing. Historians have found that the story originated with



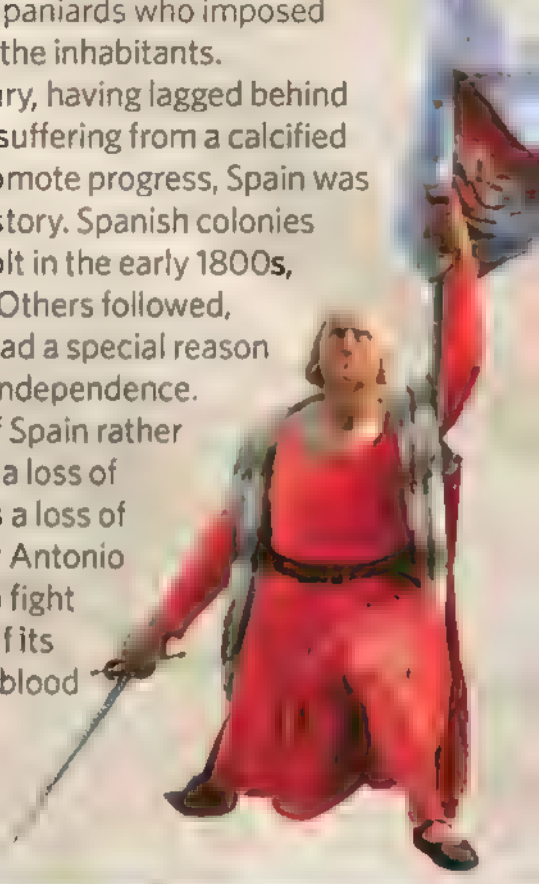
**END OF AN EMPIRE:**

# THE RISE AND FALL OF SPAIN

The Spanish Empire had no equal during its golden age. It was the undisputed ruler of the world with territories from the Atlantic to the Pacific. After unifying Spain in the late 15th century, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella began an era of exploration with Christopher Columbus's expedition in 1492.

**LESS THAN** 50 years later, the Spanish claimed portions of the Earth many times the size of their homeland thanks to conquistadores like Hernán Cortés in Central America and Francisco Pizarro in South America. Vasco Núñez de Balboa thought so grandly he claimed all of the Pacific Ocean for Spain. In 1511 Spain started the permanent settlement of Cuba. Within a century, enslavement, disease, and starvation had decimated the local Taino culture. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese explorer sailing for the Spanish, arrived in the Philippine Islands in 1521. The islands would be named for Spanish king Philip II and settled in 1565 by a mere 500 Spaniards who imposed their language and customs on the inhabitants.

But by the end of the 19th century, having lagged behind in the industrial revolution and suffering from a calcified political system that did not promote progress, Spain was at the other end of the arc of history. Spanish colonies in the New World began to revolt in the early 1800s, beginning with Bolivia in 1809. Others followed, including Cuba in 1868. Spain had a special reason to resist the Cubans' quest for independence. Cuba had become a province of Spain rather than a colony. Its loss would be a loss of international prestige as well as a loss of revenue. Spain's prime minister Antonio Cánovas del Castillo pledged to fight for Cuba with "the last peseta of its treasure and to the last drop of blood of the last Spaniard."



**COLUMBUS** DISEMBARKS IN THE NEW WORLD. DETAIL OF AN 1862 PAINTING BY DIÓSCORO PUEBLA
BRIDGEMAN/AC

## THE SPANISH EMPIRE'S STEEP DECLINE

**1814**

Spanish king Ferdinand VII is restored following Napoleon's 1808 invasion of Spain. He attempts to reassert control in the South American colonies, where trust in Spain has eroded.

When the United States threw its might into the war, Spain was defeated, and its empire was no more. Spain would be riven by bloody revolution and political repression. Poet Antonio Machado, who belonged to a group of liberal artists and writers called the Generation of 1898—the year the Spanish-American War took place—spoke for the anguish of many in this verse:

*Miserable Castile, yesterday lording*
*it over everybody,*
*now wrapped in her rags scorns all she*
*does not know.*

**THE LAST OF SPAIN**
Above, an 1899 map showing two of the dramatic conquests made by the United States the year before: Cuba (with insets showing its two principal cities, Havana and Santiago de Cuba) and Puerto Rico. U.S. forces then completed Spain's humiliation by taking the Philippines.
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

**THE BACARDÍ RUM DISTILLERY** WAS FOUNDED BY SPAN ARD FACUNDO BACARDÍ IN SANTIAGO DE CUBA, CUBA, IN 1862.
MARY EVANS/AGE FOTOSTOCK

**1819**
Led by Simón Bolívar, the short-lived Gran Colombia begins to break away from Spain. By 1830 Gran Colombia will split into what is now Colombia, Panama, Venezuela, and Ecuador.

**1822**
The United States recognizes Mexico, Chile, Peru, and the United Provinces of the River Plate (this later split to form parts of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, and Uruguay).

**1833–1876**
Three civil wars further weaken Spain. Distracted by its domestic woes, Spain struggles to contain an independence movement in Cuba.

**1898**
Following a short war, Cuba is free of Spain; the United States takes possession of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. The Spanish Empire has ended.

**GEN. VALERIANO WEYLER,** SPANISH SCOURGE OF THE CUBAN REBELS, IN A 19TH-CENTURY OIL PAINTING BY JOAN FUSTER. FORT OF SAN CARLOS, PALMA DE MALLORCA, SPAIN

TOLO BALAGUER/ALBUM

Hearst's ace correspondent, James Creelman, who included it in a memoir full of examples of such creative embroidery and lavish praise for Hearst. (The Remington–Hearst exchange was so irresistible that it had a thrilling cameo appearance in *Citizen Kane*, Orson Welles' 1941 film based on Hearst's life, further cementing it in the public's imagination.)

And yet, the story contains a truth greater than it purports to tell. Curiously, where Creelman's dramatic story falls short is in understatement—the suggestion that the yellow press alone was responsible for starting the war. In fact, conservative newspapers, staid business journals, book publishers, and fledgling filmmakers alike were swept up in the wild melee that created an overwhelming go-to-war sentiment. Reporters of all stripes were responsible for outrageous fakes that rival some of today's as competition over readership and power pushed the boundaries of journalism.

## American Intervention

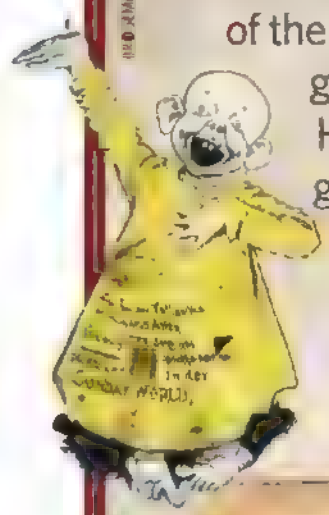
Cuba began its fight for independence from Spain in the mid-19th century, with a major insurrection from 1868 to 1878 and another revolt in 1879. The final flare-up began in 1895, but the resistance's early efforts were met with brutality. Spanish general Valeriano Weyler rounded up insurgents and held them in horrific conditions, leading some to credit him with the invention of modern civilian concentration camps. The Spanish government's harsh treatment of Cuban



### HEARST vs. PULITZER

# CLASH OF THE TITANS

William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer created publishing empires through sensationalism, but neither one invented this style of storytelling. Instead, Hearst, who built the nation's largest news conglomerate out of the San Francisco newspaper his father gave him in 1887, and Pulitzer, a poor Hungarian immigrant with an eye for a good story, followed the legacy of James Gordon Bennett. Fifty years earlier, Bennett won readers for the *New York Herald* with his gruesome and fact-challenged crime coverage.



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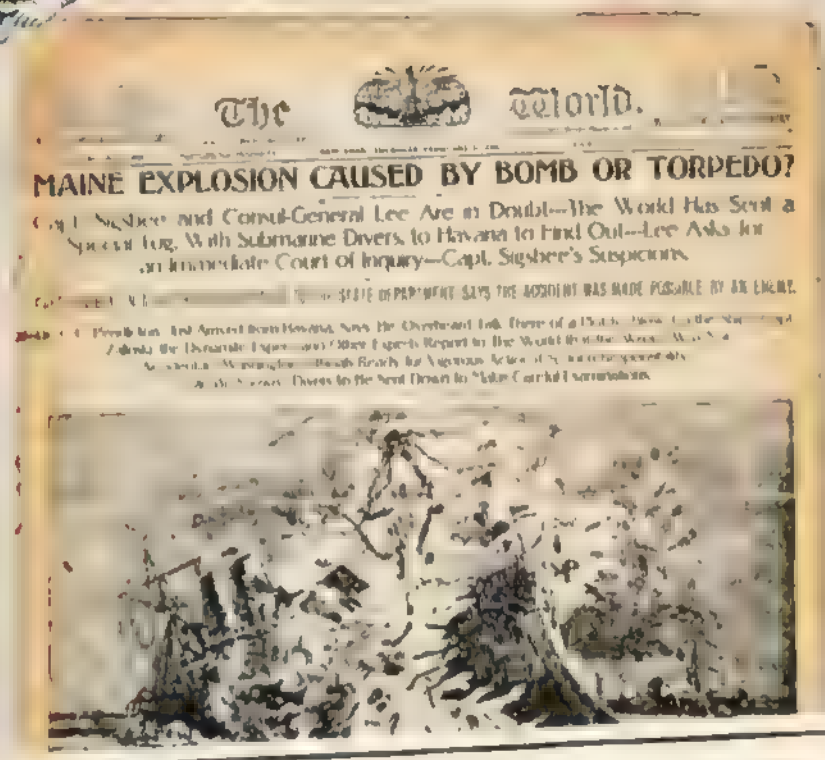


The World.

MAINE EXPLOSION CAUSED BY BOMB OR TORPEDO?

Capt. Sigsbee and Consul-General Lee Are in Doubt—The World Has Sent a Special Tug, With Submarine Divers to Havana to Find Out—Lee Asks for an Immediate Court of Inquiry—Capt. Sigsbee's Suspicions.

CORONOZ/ALBUM



NEW YORK JOURNAL AND ADVERTISER

ARMED INTERVENTION AT ONCE!

THE VOICE OF CONGRESS IN THE GREAT CRISIS.

Intimations That President McKinley Has Made Concessions to Spain Received with a Wild Howl of Disapproval in Washington.

Journal's Interviews with Congressmen Show That Not for a Moment Will the American People Countenance Any Abandonment of the Cause of Independence for the Cuban Patriots.

GRANGER/ALBUM

ULLSTEIN BILD/GETTY IMAGES

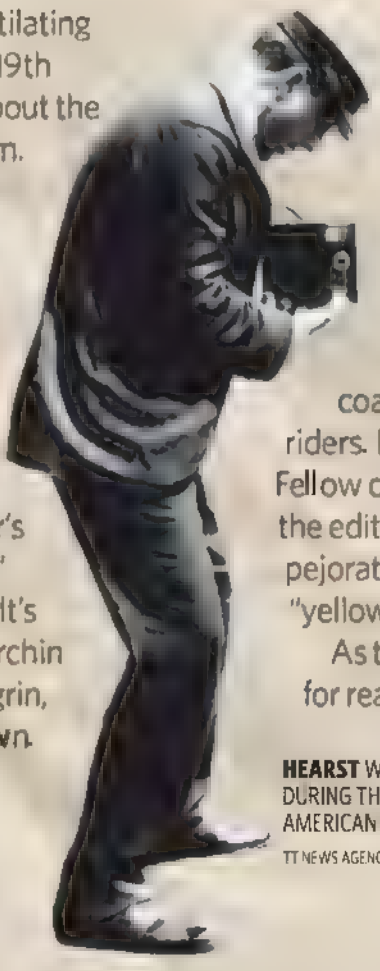
ALAMY/AC

**AFTER A GRISLY** ax murder at a brothel, Bennett ran an interview with the madam that is widely believed to have been concocted by the brash editor. While others may have invented sensationalism, Hearst and Pulitzer perfected it; their craft became known as yellow journalism, which got its name from a comic strip character called the Yellow Kid (upper left). The history of the cartoon, and the roundabout way it gave a name to hyperventilating reporting at the end of the 19th century, says something about the forces at work on journalism.

In those days cities had a large number of dailies, all vying for attention. In their search for readers publishers took cartooning in a new direction with the comic strip. One of the most famous, which appeared in Joseph Pulitzer's *World*, was "Hogan's Alley." Cartoonist Richard Outcault's leading character was an urchin with jug ears and a toothy grin, and dressed in a yellow gown. Confronted by this popular competitor, Hearst used one of his favorite tactics to undercut Pulitzer. He hired away Outcault. Pulitzer responded by assigning another cartoonist to draw the Kid, who now appeared in both papers.

How the Yellow Kid lent his name to sensational journalism grew out of one of Hearst's news gimmicks—the "Yellow Fellow Transcontinental Bicycle Relay." Hearst had not yet acquired Outcault's talents for his newspaper, but may have been trying to cash in on Outcault's comic creation anyway. Or maybe he simply liked the color. In any event, the rider who left San Francisco was clad entirely in yellow. Hearst's objective was to set a new coast-to-coast speed record for mounted riders. Dismissive of the Yellow Fellow cyclists and their newsmaking, the editor of the *New York Press* pejoratively called Hearst's style "yellow journalism." The term stuck.

As the Hearst-Pulitzer competition for readers leading up to and during the Spanish-American War shows, the two men had no shame in the stunts they would pull. But as often happens with those who become wealthy by reckless schemes, a new urge develops out of success: a desire for respectability. The Hearst media empire remains, albeit in respectable form in keeping with its magnificent 46-floor headquarters on 57th Street in New York. Pulitzer's empire is gone, but his grand legacy is found in the journalism school he helped found at Columbia University and the esteemed Pulitzer Prizes given out to exemplary journalism each year.



**HEARST** WITH HIS CAMERA DURING THE 1898 SPAN SH-AMERICAN WAR

TT NEWS AGENCY/ALBUM

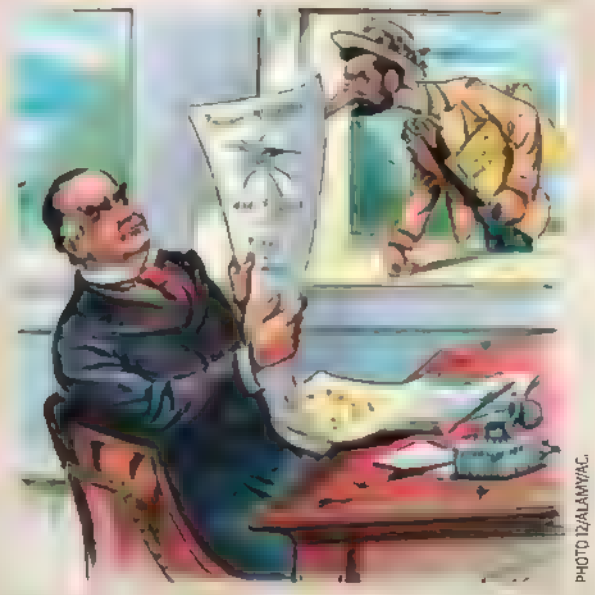


PHOTO 12/ALAMY/AC

**PULITZER,** DEPICTED AS PINOCCHIO, INTERRUPTS PRESIDENT MCKINLEY IN HIS OFFICE IN THIS 1898 CARTOON.

THE SHIP'S COMPANY OF THE U.S.S. *MAINE* IN AN 1896 PHOTOGRAPH

# REMEMBER THE *MAINE*

**THE NEWS OF THE SINKING OF THE *MAINE* IN HAVANA INFLAMED AN ALREADY JITTERY AND JINGOISTIC AMERICA. CAPITALIZING ON THE APPALLING LOSS OF YOUNG LIFE IN THE EXPLOSION, THE EVER RESOURCEFUL YELLOW PRESS MANIPULATED EVIDENCE TO TURN THE TRAGEDY INTO A RALLYING CRY FOR WAR.**

THE *MAINE* TRAGEDY, DEPICTED IN A DRAMATIC CHROMOLITHOGRAPH BY THE KURZ AND ALLISON STUDIO, CHICAGO

GRANGER/AGE FOTOSTOCK

**REMEMBER THE MAINE!** To hell with Spain!" Up went the cry, amplified by the American press, after the sinking of the armored cruiser *Maine* on the evening of February 15, 1898. Some 260 sailors, most of them sleeping at the time, perished when an explosion near the ship's powder magazine rent the forward part of the vessel and sent it to the bottom of Havana Harbor.

When informed of the *Maine*'s sinking, Hearst told his editors to "spread the story all over the page. This means war." Joseph Pulitzer's *World* editorialized that "Nobody outside a lunatic asylum" would think Spain stupid enough to do such a thing, but this did not stop the newspaper from darkly reporting "Spanish treachery."

Along with the *New York Journal*, the *World* published a so-called suppressed cable from the *Maine*'s captain to Navy Secretary John D. Long saying the explosion was not accidental. The cable was a fake. Hearst offered a $50,000 reward for solving the mystery of the *Maine*'s sinking, but made it clear whom he considered guilty. A front-page drawing two days after the ship went down in

COVER OF THE 1898 SHEET MUSIC CALLS DOWN VENGEANCE ON SPAIN FOR THE TRAGEDY

ALAMY/ACI

flames showed the vessel with a mine immediately under it. For good measure Hearst created a "War with Spain" card game.

The *World* sent divers to conduct an investigation, but Spanish authorities squelched their attempt. A U.S. naval investigation laid blame for the tragedy, as Hearst's drawing had suggested, on a Spanish submarine mine. Journalist George Bronson Rea, ever alert to fakes and also a trained engineer, was singular in his outright dispute of this finding.

The *World* chided McKinley for not rushing to war after the sinking of the *Maine*. A few responsible newspapers counseled caution. But the public did remember the *Maine,* and those recollections helped push the country to war several months later.

Later inquiries, including one by the National Geographic Society on the hundred-year anniversary of the sinking, have suggested the explosion was due to accidental causes, perhaps a fire in the coal bunker putting off enough heat to ignite the adjacent powder magazine. But no universally accepted explanation has been reached for what was behind the sinking of the *Maine*. ■

**THE SUNKEN REMAINS OF THE *MAINE* IN HAVANA HARBOR**
SPENCER ARNOLD/GETTY IMAGES

NEW YORK JOURNAL, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1897.

SPANIARDS SEARCH WOMEN ON AMERICAN STEAMERS.

DRAWN BY FREDERIC REMINGTON

KAISER MAKES DESIGNS

HORSE CRASHES INTO A STORE.

**THE NAKED TRUTH?**
The *New York Journal*'s illustration of a woman stripped and searched by Spanish officials. Female insurgents were indeed searched—but by other women and behind closed doors.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

civilians pulled at American heart strings. Helping the Cubans fight for independence reaffirmed Americans' belief in the virtues of their own revolution.

The rebellion jeopardized U.S. trade relations with and investments in Cuba. But there were larger reasons than that to go to war. In the late 19th century the United States' continental frontiers were gone. International muscle flexing could open foreign markets to keep the U.S. economy going strong and revitalize Americans' sense of their Manifest Destiny. Not only would they enjoy continental sway; they would be a global power.

The press did not generate these impulses, but it played upon and amplified them. Creelman's anecdote reflects the pro-war attitudes of the press and, in being fabricated, reveals the ease with which correspondents cut corners in conveying them.

## Coverage of Cuba

At the end of the 19th century journalism was still in its infancy. There were no journalism schools, no company ethics manuals, no journalism associations to enforce or even suggest standards. The goal was to get readers, which big city newspapers could now reach as a result of massive investment in high-powered presses. Some newspapers sought to attract an upscale readership with fact-based reporting, but even the *New York Times* and others with higher aspirations easily succumbed to sensational and slipshod reporting when the Cuba story came along.

The war in Cuba was the biggest foreign news story for Americans up to that time. By one count some 75 correspondents covered the incipient Cuba insurgency in the three years leading up to the war. A conservative estimate is that 200 went to the island after Roosevelt's Rough Riders saddled up in 1898.

Newspapers spared little in covering the dramatic news that Cuba offered. Creelman, handsome Richard Harding Davis, novelist-journalist Stephen Crane, pioneer combat photographer Jimmy Hare, and many of their colleagues were the who's who of war correspondents. If they brought bias and bravado to this assignment, they were nevertheless enterprising and intrepid. This was a dangerous and frustrating story to cover. One correspondent was killed in action. Others were wounded or felled by malaria or other tropical maladies.

General Weyler hated the American press. "They poison everything with falsehood!" he told Creelman. "They ought to be suppressed!" And so the general did. He heavily censored correspondents' cables. He tossed journalists in dank jails and threw them out of the country.

Paradoxically, one of the most sensational stories resulted indirectly from Weyler's suppression of news. Davis was so closely watched by Weyler's men that he could do little enterprise reporting and decided to leave the country in early 1897. On his homeward bound ship was Clemencia Arango, the sister of an insurgent leader. She told Davis that the Spanish had searched her and two female companions three times. In fine Victorian umbrage, Davis wrote up the account as a litany of indignities, without mentioning the authorities had good reason for the searches. The women were carrying secret—and undiscovered—messages. The story grew all the more lurid when Remington, now back in New York, supplied an illustration of a slender, stark naked

**HARBORING MOTIVES**
Above, Havana Harbor in 1904. During the U.S. occupation of Cuba—which lasted, on and off, until 1909—the Americans modernized and deepened the harbor as well as opened the island up to U.S. business interests.

BRIDGEMAN/AGE FOTOSTOCK

woman standing in the open with three men around her. The drawing, which covered two-thirds of a page of the *New York Journal,* was a gross distortion. Women, not men, had done the searches behind closed doors, not in plain sight above deck.

Intense competition to best each other in the field—and to justify their enormous investment in Cuba coverage—resulted in equally intense newspaper criticism of each other at home. The over-the-top *New York Journal* story led Pulitzer's *World* to condemn Davis and Remington, saying they should be "quarantined before they are allowed to mingle again with reputable newspaper men." Deeply embarrassed, Davis unfairly put all the blame on Hearst and vowed he would never work for him again.

## Turning Yellow

Newspapers spent tens of thousands of dollars cabling news. The Associated Press had 23 reporters on the job and five press boats. Almost unbelievably, Hearst had twice as many of both. The boats ferried uncensored dispatches to Florida and gave reporters a good view of naval military action. When the U.S. battleship *Maine* was sunk in Havana Harbor under mysterious circumstances (the cause remains disputed to this day and were at one time investigated by the National Geographic Society), three newspapers sent their own diving teams to investigate.

Newspaper proprietors like Hearst believed in muscular journalism. He sent a $2,000 sword and medical supplies to the commander of the Cuba rebels, organized a delegation of congressmen to visit Cuba as "Journal commissioners,"

**FINISHING THE JOB**
An American cartoon from the fall of 1898 shows Uncle Sam administering the coup de grâce to the tottering Spanish Empire.
GRANGER/ALBUM

and ordered Creelman to concoct a plan to purchase a tramp steamer that would be sunk in the Suez Canal to block the Spanish fleet if it attempted to reach Manila. This ridiculous scheme was never carried out.

Hearst was not alone: Pulitzer's *World* correspondent Sylvester Scovel, a former drama critic in Cleveland and one of the most flamboyant correspondents, had such a close relationship with the insurgent Gen. Máximo Gómez that the Spanish considered him a rebel agent, which he effectively was. Scovel carried messages back and forth to Gómez and supplied American authorities with intelligence.

In this same participatory spirit, Scovel insisted on joining in the solemn ceremony to lower the Spanish flag at the end of the war. When the rotund American commander, Gen. William Rufus Shafter, told him to take his hands off the halyard, the correspondent slugged him, or tried to (accounts vary).

The New York newspapers were not the only ones feeding the public's appetite for news about Cuba. Americans everywhere were inundated with reports and editorials about Cuba. In the seven months leading up to the war, readers of the conservative *Los Angeles Times* found almost 10 Cuba-related items on average each day; readers of the *Chicago Tribune* had more than six.

Newspapers often took swipes at each other and the quality of their rivals' coverage, but rival papers' critiques of each other did little to exonerate the Spanish or poke holes in insurgents' claims. Far more commanding was the size of the *Journal's* headline type, which increased 400 percent in the run-up to the war. Editor Arthur Brisbane was thankful that the word "war" had only three letters. "Had we had the French 'guerre' or even the German 'Krieg' to deal with, we would have been lost."

Before war was declared, George Bronson Rea of the relatively restrained *New York Herald* grew so fed up with the journalistic shenanigans in coverage of the rebellion he wrote *Facts and Fakes about Cuba*. But he admitted to having "omitted many events that would have hurt the cause" of the insurgents.

## Multimedia War

Every medium, from comic strips to print advertising, wanted in on the act. The Yellow Kid, a crazed cartoon character who gave the yellow press its moniker, set out in one series of comic strips to redress Cuba's ills. An inspired copywriter came up with "We would like to C-U-B-A purchaser of a pair of our stylish fitting shoes." The Chicago *Dry Goods Reporter* suggested retailers use "the disaster to the battleship Maine" for window displays.

Magazines were no less hyperventilating. *Cosmopolitan* editor John Brisben Walker proclaimed, "The time is right for the interference of the United States in the affairs of Cuba." *New York Herald* correspondent Stephen Bonsal wrote in *Harper's Weekly*, "In these leaking huts, where the dead and the dying lie huddled together, unceasing prayers are being offered up

## FICTION AND FORGERY

**EVEN THE RESPECTABLE** *New York Times* was not above outlandish reporting during the late 19th century, and it employed one of the greatest literary hoaxers in American history: William Francis Mannix. Reporting from Cuba in late 1895, Mannix wrote breathless stories filled with daring escapades across military lines, passionate rebels, and bloody battles. Enraged by his ability to avoid censorship, Spanish authorities ordered Mannix to leave Cuba in February 1896. The *New York Times* supported its reporter, calling his expulsion "unjust." Mannix seemed a hero—until reporters exposed him as a fraud. Rather than reporting from battle, he was writing in a Havana bar. His stories included forged letters purported to have been written by Cuban leaders and then reprinted in his dispatches. As one critic noted, Mannix put the insurgent president in a city that did not exist and made up names for people mentioned in the letters. Mannix was not the only reporter to invent stories, but he was one of the most flagrant.

**THE *NEW YORK TIMES*** (BELOW) COVERED SPAIN'S EXPULSION FROM CUBA OF W. F. MANNIX IN FEBRUARY 1896.

CLIPPINGS: NY TIMES. MAP: SPL/AGE FOTOSTOCK

THE EXPULSION OF CAPT. MANNIX.

Little Can Be Done by the State Department in the Matter.

WASHINGTON, Feb 5.—Secretary Olney not yet received any information f Consul General Williams of Havana garding the attempted expulsion of C William F. Mannix. The news may come wire, but Secretary Olney was inclined think that the State Department represe tive at Havana would intrust the facts the regular mail packet.

The report of Capt. Mannix's latest exp lence created much interest in the depa ment to-day, but there was, as usual, appropriate reticence as to the result. Se retary Olney positively refused to offer a opinion or make any suggestions. The formation in the possession of the depa ment was of a most unofficial characte and the facts were so meagre that no de nite view of the circumstances could formed at this time. The attempt to e clude an American citizen from foreig territory is usually a serious matter, an authorities acquainted with internationa

SPAIN AGAINST LIGHT

Expulsion of a Newspaper Man from Cuba.

MALEFACTIONS OF MANNIX

He Gave an Audience to Cisneros, Gomez, Maceo, and Others.

PUBLISHED AN APPEAL TO AMERIC

ON THE EXPULSION OF MANNIX.

Minister Dupuy de Lome Gives His Version of Facts and Comments.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6.—Minister Dupuy de Lome was asked for his view of the expulsion of Correspondent William F. Mannix from Cuba, and said:

"Mannix came to Consul General Baldasano very well introduced as a newspaper man last Fall, and asked assistance to go to Cuba to send reliable news to a syndicate of newspapers which had agreed to take his letter but would not advance him money. Under guarantee that he would send unbiased reports, I authorized the Consul General to pay his fare to Cuba.

"After Mannix got there, in November or December, he wrote back announcing that he was trusted by the rebels, and offering his services as a spy to furnish the Consul General with confidential reports of insurgents' plans.

"I instructed the Consul General to decline the offer most emphatically, which he did, as we had no need for American spies in Cuba. Mannix immediately began to send lies to the papers here, and as they

to Our Lady of Pity . . . And I believe these prayers will be heard in the United States."

Those prayers were recycled in quickie books by Bonsal and others. Advances in photography made the plight of the Cubans vivid. The subsequent success of *Collier's* magazine was attributed to the attention it received for extensive photographic coverage of the conflict. Two motion picture tinkerers, Albert E. Smith and J. Stuart Blackton, created the first newsreels, dramatizing the sinking of the *Maine* and Roosevelt's charge up San Juan Hill. "With nationalistic feeling at fever pitch," one them said, "we set out to photograph what the people wanted to see."

The Junta, the Cuba lobbying organization in the United States, published its own newspapers, planted reporters at the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* and the *Washington Star,* and

**CUBAN REBELS** UNDER THE COMMAND OF MÁXIMO GÓMEZ, 1898

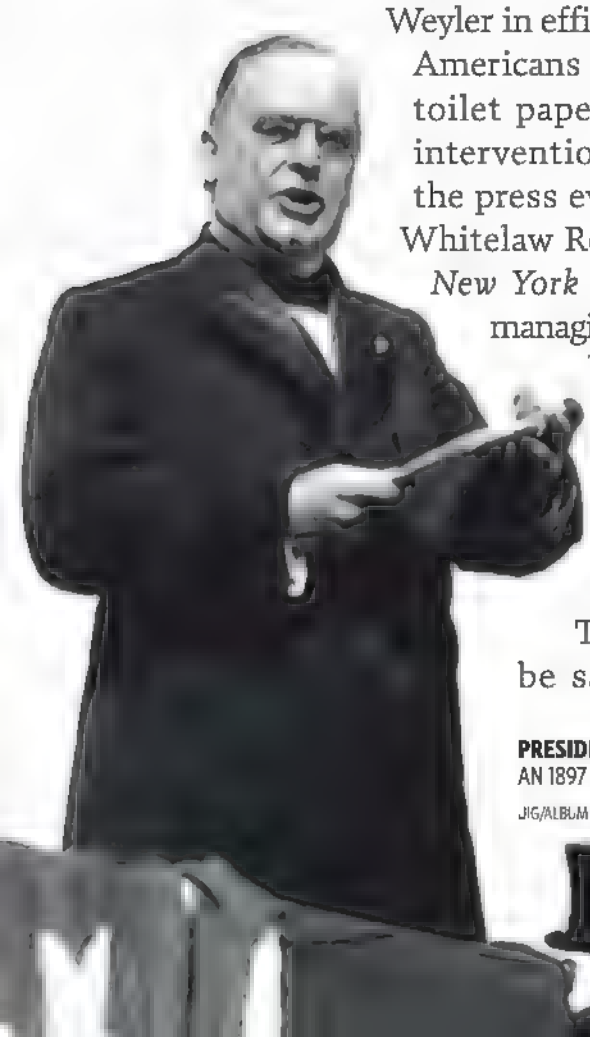
PHOTO 12/ALAMY/ACI

held a daily four o'clock press briefing in New York. The Peanut Club, as it was called, made every effort to downplay insurgent transgressions and play up the Spanish inequity. "No matter what the feelings of his paper," said the Peanut Club organizer, "I know of none who was not personally sympathetic to Cuba in her trouble."

## Pressure of the Press

Correspondents took their pro-Cuba message directly to Capitol Hill, which created a continuous feedback loop. The journalists testified on Spanish transgressions. The press reported what the journalists said, and legislators repeated their stories when they returned home to constituents. One of the most notorious fakers, Frederick Lawrence of the *Journal*, told congressmen he had no qualms about passing along information fed to him by insurgents because they were men "of the highest character." Legislators exhibited the same degree of credulity. Extolling the value of newspaper reports from Cuba, a senator observed, "In the main it turns out that the consensus of statements made by the American press in respect to a matter occurring in a foreign country is true."

In this news environment American emotions boiled over. The just written American Pledge of Allegiance became a daily ritual at schools. At anti-Spanish rallies in towns and cities, indignant citizens burned General Weyler in effigy. In their homes Americans used Spanish flag toilet paper. The few anti-interventionist elements of the press eventually gave in. Whitelaw Reid, owner of the *New York Tribune*, told his managing editor, "It would be unwise for us to be the last persons to assent to [war], or seem to be dragged into the support of it." The same could be said of President William McKinley. He was a reluctant warrior as a result of his bloody experience as a Union major in the Civil War. But he also was highly sensitive to public opinion and well aware of the jingoism roiling the nation. He read newspapers for two hours each morning. A special news digest prepared for him, called "Current Comment," was especially useful, his secretary said, in gleaning "the drift of public sentiment."



**PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY** IN AN 1897 PHOTOGRAPH

JIG/ALBUM

The president tried to convince Spain to give Cuba independence. When these negotiations failed, he did not explicitly call for war. His message to Congress gave belligerent legislators room to declare it. McKinley's decision was shrewd. If the war went poorly, the blame could be spread around to these legislators; if it succeeded, McKinley would get the most credit. But when Congress declared war in April 1898, Hearst himself was all too happy to take credit:

# THE NEWS LOOKS ABROAD

Before the Spanish-American War, American foreign reporting was scattershot. A few newspapers did original reporting, and much was provided by journalists who were citizens of the countries being covered.

**THE NEWSPAPER** owner who did more than any other to change this was Victor Lawson (right), a Norwegian-American who was as respectable as Hearst and Pulitzer were flamboyant. His *Chicago Daily News* epitomized what was called in those days "clean journalism," meaning journalism that did not sensationalize and sought enlightenment along with some wholesome entertainment. Lawson, whose paper had the highest circulation in the country in the early 20th century, was known for innovation, which included recruiting such literary writers as Carl Sandburg and running a plethora of attention-grabbing black-and-white photographs. At the height of the war, he had 14 correspondents stretched from Cuba to the Philippines.

When the fighting was over and the United States had established itself as a global power, Lawson decided it was "no longer desirable or safe" for Americans to rely on foreigners for their news of the world. Initially as an

**EARNING RESPECT**
Victor Lawson helped establish the *Chicago Daily News* (headquarters shown above) as a leader in coverage of international relations.

B. O'KANE/ALAMY

DAILY NEWS
THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS.
NORTH POLE IS DISCOVERED
POLE DISCOVERER. HIS ROUTE AND AGENCIES THAT AIDED ARCTIC DASH.
DR. F. A. COOK WINNER IN THE ARCTIC QUEST
COOK MADE A BISHOP AND DAZZLING RATES
TOLSTOY IS CORDIAL TO A CHICAGO VISITOR

MARY EVANS/AGE FOTOSTOCK

experiment, he set out to create a corps of American foreign correspondents. The experiment was so successful, Lawson syndicated his "foreign service" to newspapers across the country. The *New York Times*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and others followed Lawson's example of extensive, systematic coverage of world news. But none was better prepared to cover World War I when it broke out in 1914. The *Chicago Daily News*, said *Editor & Publisher*, scored "more beat on the war in its special foreign service than perhaps any other paper in the world." The legacy of these journalistic giants endures today: Hearst's empire survives, Pulitzer has his prizes, and Lawson left the standards against which all the rest would be measured. ■

Headlines in his newspaper blared, "How Do You Like the Journal's War?"

## Looking Outward

When the war ended a little over three months later, McKinley was a hero. The victorious Americans acquired Cuba, the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico from Spain. The short war made the United States a global power as Spain retreated from the world stage.

"The past few months have witnessed one of the most remarkable developments of public opinion observed in this or any other country," wrote a contemporary observer of this expansionist burst. "A year ago we wanted no colonies, no alliance, no European neighbors, no army, and not much navy … Today every one of these principles is challenged, if not definitely rejected." The Spanish-American War similarly was a watershed in news coverage. It led to an expansion of foreign news reporting befitting a world leader. The level of professionalism improved. But James Creelman thought journalists' performance in Cuba had been fine as it was. The war, he said, "justified the instrumentalities which produced it." ■

**JOHN MAXWELL HAMILTON,** journalist and author, is the Hopkins P. Breazeale Professor of Journalism at Louisiana State University and a senior scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.

*Learn more*

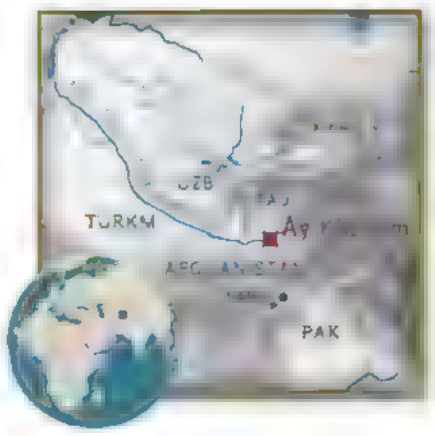
***Journalism's Roving Eye: A History of American Foreign News Reporting***
John Maxwell Hamilton, LSU Press, 2009

# Ay Khanom: Alexander's Outpost in Asia

The search for one of Alexander the Great's cities in Asia drew scholars to a remarkable site along the Amu Darya. Discovered by the king of Afghanistan in the 1960s, the site of Ay Khanom began yielding its secrets and revealed a thriving fortress city where two cultures met.

Known by ancient writers as the "land of a thousand cities," the Persian province of Bactria lies in what is now part of Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan. In the fourth century B.C. Alexander the Great conquered the region as he pushed his empire eastward. He married a Bactrian princess and founded many cities there where a blended Hellenistic and Asiatic culture would blossom over the centuries that followed.

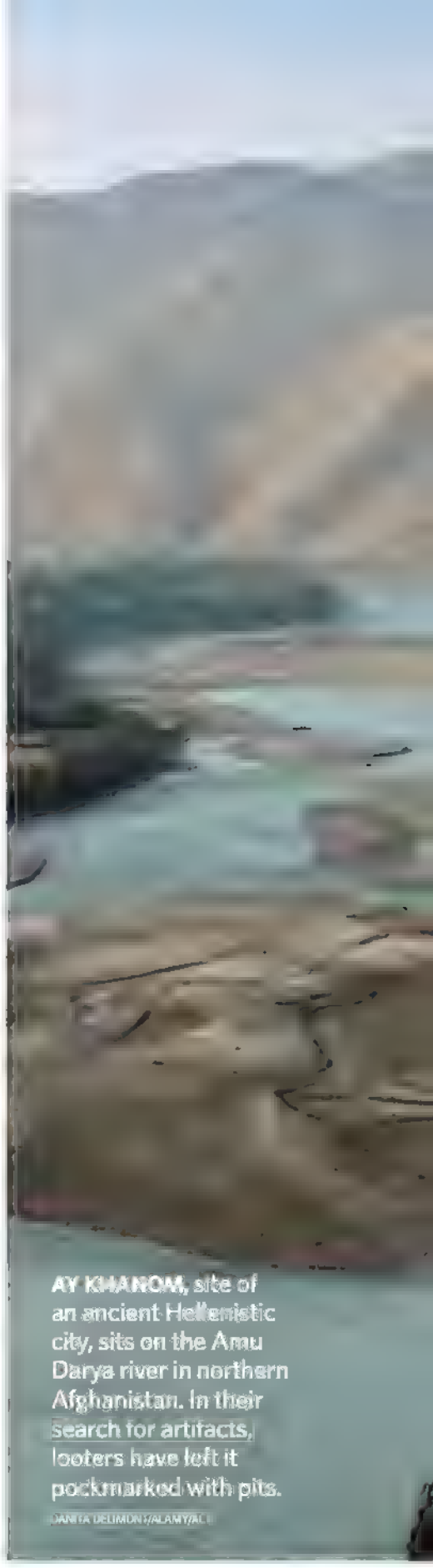
In the 19th century European explorers yearned to find one of these cities. They ventured deep into Bactrian territory, following the Amu Darya, the river the Greeks historically identified as the Oxus.




A British army captain, John Wood, visited a promising village, Ay Khanom, at the foot of the Hindu Kush mountains (near the border with modern-day Tajikistan). Locals informed him that an ancient city had once stood there, but Wood could find no trace of it.

A French archaeologist, Jules Barthoux, came to Ay Khanom in 1926, but the site would not be excavated until the 1960s. In 1961 Mohammed Zahir Shah, king of Afghanistan, was hunting near Ay Khanom when he found the remains of what looked like an ancient city.

Following the king's discovery, the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (DAFA) began exploring the site at Ay Khanom in 1965. Their excavations lasted until 1978, a year before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan plunged the country into decades of war. The team's work provided valuable information on the hellenization of areas of Central Asia by Alexander and his successors.



**AY KHANOM,** site of an ancient Hellenistic city, sits on the Amu Darya river in northern Afghanistan. In their search for artifacts, looters have left it pockmarked with pits.

DANITA DELIMONT/ALAMY/ALI

## Greek Life in Asia

Other Greek cities founded in Afghanistan at the time—such as Alexandria in Aria and Alexandria in Arachosia—are believed to be buried underneath the modern cities of Herat and Kandahar. These locations make them difficult for scholars to access. Digging near rural Ay Khanom proved much easier and very rewarding.

**GOLDEN STATER** OF ANTIOCHUS I, RULER OF THE HELLENISTIC SELEUCID EMPIRE, FOUND AT AY KHANOM

AKG/A..BUM

**1838**
On a tip from local residents, Briton John Wood visits Ay Khanom in search of Alexander's cities

**1926**
Surveying Afghanistan, French archaeologist Jules Barthoux suggests Ay Khanom is of scholarly interest.

**1961**
Afghanistan's king discovers remnants of an ancient city, which draws the attention of scholars in Kabul.

**1965**
Excavation work begins at Ay Khanom. The discoveries shed new light on the spread of Greek culture in Asia

Little is known about Ay Khanom's history prior to Alexander's invasion. The DAFA archaeologists excavated the mile-long site and found the remains of a fortress city where Greek culture had gained a strong foothold.

The city's structures and layout featured many distinctive Greek features: a large gymnasium, a temple, a palace, and a theater that could seat up to 5,000 people. The finds paint a rich picture of how Greek and Asian culture impacted and influenced one another. Some structures feature Asian motifs, but are adorned with Greek features such as Corinthian-style columns.

Based on a confusing description of the area in Ptolemy's second-century A.D.

*(continued on page 94)*

## EAST MEETS WEST

**JUST AS THE CITY'S** Greek culture absorbed eastern motifs, so Greek traits spread east as well. The style of this second-century B.C. Corinthian capital from Ay Khanom would hugely influence Buddhist art in the Gandhara region of Pakistan, which flourished from the first century A.D.

Aks/A.BuM

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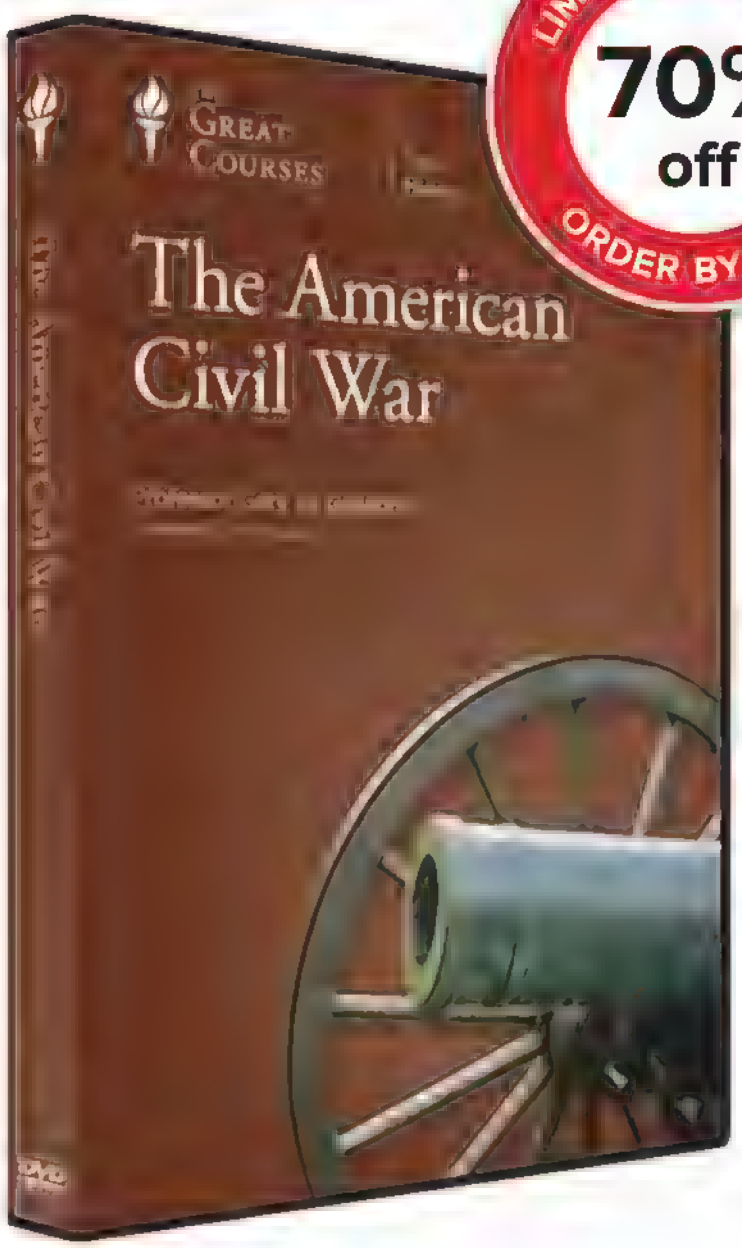


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28. African Americans in Wartime, II
29. Wartime Reconstruction
30. The Naval War
31. The River War and Confederate Commerce Raiders
32. Women at War, I
33. Women at War, II
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# Salvaged Treasures

**A PLAQUE** outside Afghanistan's National Museum in Kabul reads: "A nation stays alive when its culture stays alive." The words are of particular relevance to the museum, which was founded in 1919 and reflects Afghanistan's rich, complex history that stretches back through centuries. Bombed and looted in the 1990s, the museum was targeted by the Taliban regime, whose agents destroyed many of the pre-Islamic artifacts in its collections. A few pieces from Ay Khanom (shown here) escaped this fate.

**Gargoyle,** third to second centuries B.C. This water spout takes on the form of a Greek comic mask.

**Golden disk,** second century B.C. Found in a temple, it is believed to depict the Greek goddess Cybele (left) and god Helios (center), and a Zoroastrian fire altar (right).

**Cast-bronze crescent,** third century B.C. Tarnished by time, this moon-shaped artifact bears a woman's face.

**Bearded man,** third to second centuries B.C. This bust, perhaps depicting a teacher, was found in the Ay Khanom gymnasium.

**Square coin,** circa 190 B.C. Issued by King Agathocles, this coin bears texts in Greek and Brahmi script. On one side is the Hindu god Krishna (far left); on the other, the Hindu deity Balarama.

**DISK:** FINE ART IMAGES/ALBUM. **GARGOYLE:** THIERRY OLLIVIER/MUSÉE GUIMET/GETTY IMAGES. **COIN:** AKG/ALBUM. **MOON AND BUST:** THIERRY OLLIVIER/MUSÉE GUIMET/GETTY IMAGES

**REFUGE IN THE TEAROOM**
In 2001 a French aid agency converted this tearoom near Ay Khanom into a store in which to safeguard artifacts from the site that had not been destroyed by the war or stolen by looters.

KENNETH GARRETT/ALAMY/ACI

*Geography*, some historians identified Ay Khanom as Alexandria in Oxus. Later scholarship, however, casts doubt on this. Although its original name is still a mystery, it is plausible it was founded as a garrison town by one of Alexander's men.

After Alexander's death in 323 B.C., his eastern territories were ruled by one of his generals, Seleucus, founder of the Seleucid empire, and succeeded by his son, Antiochus I. Later, local Bactrian kings began asserting their own rule in the region, while still identifying with Greek culture.

These cultures and religions left their mark on the city. Inscriptions reveal Iranian and Bactrian names alongside Greek ones. The temple was dedicated to a deity that combined Zeus with the Indo-Iranian god of light, Mithra. Objects attest to the mingling of Greek symbols with those of Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. But the city was attracting covetous glances: Circa 145 B.C. it was sacked by nomads and later abandoned.

**Fortunes of War**

War plagued Afghanistan in the 1980s and '90s, damaging the site at Ay Khanom. In 2001 the struggle to topple the Taliban regime raged in the area. Despite attempts to salvage the site's treasures, many were lost—stolen by looters or deliberately destroyed by the Taliban.

Fortunately other items had been secreted away in bank vaults for safekeeping. Recovered in 2004, these treasures formed part of a 2007-08 exhibition that toured the United States and Europe. Organized by the National Geographic Society, the display presented to the admiring gaze of the world the treasures of Ay Khanom once thought to have been lost for ever.

*—Juan Pablo Sánchez*

The city's temple was dedicated to a deity that combined Zeus with the Indo-Iranian god of light, Mithra.

**DIVINE FOOT,** FROM A STATUE OF ZEUS-MITHRA AT AY KHANOM. NATIONAL MUSEUM, KABUL

AKG/ALBUM

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# Next Issue

**COURAGEOUS SOLDIERS** OF THE 16TH REGIMENT, FIRST INFANTRY DIVISION, DISEMBARK AT OMAHA BEACH ON D-DAY.

ABD/ALBUM

## D-DAY: THE INVASION OF NORMANDY

**ON JUNE 6, 1944,** as morning dawned over the beaches of Normandy, Operation Overlord, history's largest amphibious military campaign, unfurled across the coastline of German-occupied France. Thousands of ships and aircraft transported more than a hundred thousand troops across the English Channel to launch a campaign that would liberate France from Nazi control. As the sun set on D-Day, the Allies had secured five beaches at Normandy, giving them a crucial foothold in the fight to end World War II.

## COLD CASE FILES: MURDER ON THE MOUNTAIN

**MORE THAN 5,000 YEARS AGO** an arrow struck and killed a man as he tramped through the Alps. Preserved where he fell, his mummified body lay in the ice until its discovery by two hikers in 1991. Nicknamed for the Ötztal Alpine range where he was found, Ötzi gave scholars rich insights into daily life of people in the Copper Age. Analysis of Ötzi's remains revealed the kinds of weapons they carried, the food they ate, and the clothing they wore. Forensic scientists have joined the team to explore Ötzi's death—from the cause of his demise to the Copper Age conflicts that could end in murder.

**ÖTZI** RECONSTRUCTION BY ALFONS AND ADRIE KENNIS

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## Opulence of Opet

One of the most vibrant of all ancient Egyptian festivals, the feast of Opet occurred every spring in Thebes. Joyful crowds watched ostentatious processionals as boats dedicated to Amun were carried to the temple on the shoulders of priests in gratitude for the life-giving Nile.

## Richest Man in Rome

Marcus Licinius Crassus purchased his power and governed with Julius Caesar and Pompey as part of the First Triumvirate. A hunger for glory and thirst for gold led to his downfall, and pushed the Roman Republic into civil war.

## The Unhappy Empress

Elizabeth of Austria, also known as Sisi, was famous for her beauty throughout 19th-century Europe. But her good looks masked deep dissatisfaction with her husband's overbearing family, the rigid protocols of life at court, and the prescribed roles that women were expected to play.

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Statue honoring Meriwether Lewis, William Clark and Sacagawea.

# CENTRAL MONTANA | STORIES FROM THE PAST

While Central Montana boasts a variety of recreational, western and cultural experiences, the region that sits at the heart of Montana offers unparalleled opportunities to walk in the footsteps of history. Iconic to Central Montana are Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, their legendary expedition and the area's Native American roots. There is certainly no shortage of ways to experience this history. With museums, landmarks, trails and attractions across the region, visitors can immerse themselves in stories of the past.

Great Falls is home to The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center, a must-see for anyone interested in the expedition. Complete with spectacular views of the Missouri River, you can learn about the Corps' journey, including when they were forced to spend nearly a month portaging the many dramatic waterfalls that influenced the namesake of the city. These falls can still be viewed from the River's Edge Trail, a paved trail accessible from the Interpretive Center. The museum also chronicles the experience Lewis and Clark had with the Plains and Northwest Indians.

Throughout the region, designated Lewis and Clark sites include numerous campsites as well as points of interest like Giant Springs State Park, where nearby Lewis was chased by a grizzly bear, and Decision Point where the expedition spent nine days along the Marias River trying to determine the right route.

North from Great Falls is Fort Benton, birthplace of Montana. Here visitors can continue their journey into the past by visiting a collection of museums and sites that display Native American artifacts and more Lewis and Clark history, including a heroic-sized statue of the explorers and Sacagawea.

For a more in-depth Native American experience, First Peoples Buffalo Jump State Park in Ulm should not be missed. Believed to be one of the largest buffalo kill sites in the United States, Native people used this site for at least 2,000 years prior to Lewis and Clark's expedition through Montana. Here you can stand atop the cliff to experience the beauty of surrounding grasslands, buttes and the big, blue skies Montana is known for. The park also includes an interpretive center where you can step into a traditional tepee, see an ancient tepee ring, early Native American tools and weapons and fragments of actual buffalo bones that have been on the site for centuries.

Steeped in rich history, Central Montana offers diverse options for visitors to have an up-close-and-personal experience with the past.

**LIVING HISTORY**

Central Montana hosts the Lewis and Clark Festival every year. The weekend of rediscovery provides a chance to see how the expedition lived firsthand. Demonstrations and exhibits, complete with reenactors in historic dress, make this event true living history. **Experience it in person over the weekend of June 14-16, 2019. For more information, visit centralmontana.com/calendarofevents.**

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